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A GENERAL SKETCH OF
POLITICAL HISTORY

From the Earliest Times

BY

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PRE FACE

HISTORY is apt to present itself, not only to the youthful mind, as a haphazard collection of events grouped round a few interesting personalities, the groups of events being unconnected. A stage in advance of this is reached when we realise that English or Roman or Greek history is the story of the progress of a nation in which interesting personalities play only a part. At a third stage we discover that all history is the story of the progress of the human race, in which individual nations play only a part ; that the separate histories are not isolated, but act on and are acted on by others ; that the history of one period is the outcome of the preceding ages, as the history of the future will be the outcome of the history of the present. This conception of the unity of history as a whole is needful to the right understanding of our own or any other specific history ; and an acquaintance, sound so far as it goes, with the ground plan of general history is exceedingly helpful to the conception. The aim of this work is to present such a ground-plan 'sound so far as it goes,' which may enlarge the horizon of the student without such a multiplication of details as will 'prevent him from seeing the wood for the trees.'

A. D. I.

GERRARD'S CROSS. *Nov.* 1910.

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BOOK I
EARLY PEOPLES AND EMPIRES

CHAPTER I

PREHISTORIC HISTORY

THE history of man begins in one sense at the time when he first left intentional records of his doings. But in another sense mankind had a history before man began to leave a record. This is what we mean by the phrase **1. Beginnings.** 'Prehistoric History'—the history of what was going on before history was written down.

Prehistoric history, then, starts from the very earliest time when men existed on this planet. Man is the only creature that has learnt to make tools, to make use of fire, **The First Men.** and to employ articulate speech. We know that there were men on earth so long ago as before the last Glacial Period, when the northern half of Europe was a great ice-field ; but we do not know how many tens of thousands of years may have passed since that time. It is not until we get down to somewhere about ten thousand years ago that we have traces of communities which remained in existence generation after generation continuously down to the time when they began to leave conscious records of their actions.

This first trace of a continuous community is found in the valley of the Nile ; and probably about two or three thousand years later come the second traces of a continuous community in the valley of the Euphrates. Both had begun to be recorded somewhere about six thousand years ago ; that is **The First Records.** to say, before the year 4000 B.C. Both, before that time, had reached an advanced stage of civilisation ; that is, they had an ordered system of government, and had acquired a great deal of knowledge and engineering skill.

But ages before these two civilisations, which are generally called the Egyptian and the Akkadian or Sumerian, had come into existence, Man had spread over the globe. At present nobody knows in what part of the world Man first appeared,

2. The Races of Mankind. though most people are still inclined to think that the cradle of the human race was somewhere in Central Asia. But wherever Man spread from we are pretty sure of this: in the hottest parts of the world, at any rate of our Eastern Hemisphere, there were races with black skins and black hair who are referred to as negroes, or negroid. In the regions not quite so hot there were races who were not quite so dark, with brown, or red-brown, or yellowish skins. To a group of these in Northern Africa is given the name of Hamitic, because they were supposed to be descended from Ham, the son of Noah. The peoples who were spread over Europe and Asia are generally classed indiscriminately as Mongolians. The Egyptians belonged to the Hamitic group and the Akkadians to the Mongolian group.

A long time after both the Egyptian and Akkadian civilisations had been well established, two new groups of races appeared which are both sometimes classed under the name **The Caucasian Races.** Caucasian. That name was given when it was supposed that both of them came at different times out of the regions where the Caucasian mountains are, on the east of the Black Sea. Also they are classed together because, although their languages were very unlike each other, they had some common characteristics which are not found in the languages of any other races. The first of these two groups is called the Semitic, from Noah's son Shem. The second group is sometimes called Japhetic after Japhet; more often it is called Indo-European, because the races which belonged to it made themselves masters of India and Europe; but the commonest name for it is Aryan, because the branch which left the earliest records of itself called itself by that name.

It is probable that before the first appearance of the Semites, between the years 3000 and 4000 B.C., there was another Mongolian civilisation beginning in the Far East to which China and Japan owe their origin.

The Semites appear to have grown up first of all in Arabia, and thence to have spread themselves over Western Asia in a succession of invasions. They came into direct contact with the two great civilisations which were already in existence, and they did not spread beyond Western Asia. Where the Aryans started from we do not know for certain. But for a long time they did not come into contact with the older civilisations at all. They appear to have had their cradle somewhere further towards the north, and to have migrated in great waves first south-eastwards through Afghanistan into India, on the east of the Akkadians and Semites. In a second series of migrations they spread all over Europe without striking into Western Asia. Here we come across an interesting problem. During the second millennium, or period of one thousand years, before the Christian Era, that is between 2000 and 1000 B.C., there were highly civilised peoples in Asia Minor, in the Islands of the Mediterranean, in the Grecian peninsula, and in Italy. But we can find out so little about their languages that no one quite knows whether they were Mongolian, or Hamitic, or partly Semitic, or partly Aryan.

Without either affirming or denying that these peoples represent a comparatively early Aryan migration, we can make some tolerably definite statements about the movements of the Aryan peoples which were going on during the long centuries when great powers were flourishing in Western Asia and Egypt. Probably it was during the third millennium that their great hosts fought their way through the mountains into the plains of Northern India.

Either a large number of them turned aside into Persia, or else Persia was occupied later by a separate migrating body; for there was certainly a close connection in the language and the religious ideas of the Aryans of India and of Persia.

The Aryans who migrated across Europe are divided into groups chiefly according to their languages. All the Aryan languages are akin; that is to say we can be sure that they originally arose out of one common language. That of the Indian Aryans, called Sanskrit, must have departed less from the original than any of the others.

Of the European Aryans, the first great group is that of the Celts, who went steadily westward. The Celtic languages fall into two divisions so distinct that we must recognise two separate **European Celtic waves.** They went steadily west, not stopping **Aryans.** to turn south into the Greek or Italian Peninsulas, until the Atlantic Ocean stopped them, and they broke northward into the British Isles and southward into Spain. Although they migrated at an early stage there are no records of their history until at a much later date, when they came into collision with states which had grown up in the meanwhile in the lands of the Mediterranean Sea.

Next we are concerned with the great group which parted into two divisions generally called the Hellenic or Greek and the Italian or Latin. These two divisions, when they established themselves in the Greek and Italian Peninsulas, roughly speaking between 1500 and 1000 B.C., soon acquired a high civilisation; but the civilised Hellenes and Latins were not at all inclined to recognise their relationship to the tribes of their kinsmen who remained in wilder regions and clung to a wilder life.

The third great group is the Teutonic, which in course of time spread itself over Germany and Scandinavia, but did not come into collision with its southern neighbours till about one hundred years before the Christian Era. The last great group is that of the Slavs, who ultimately peopled the greater part of Eastern Europe. Perhaps this is the same group of whom we hear in the course of Greek and Roman history under the names of Scythians, Sarmatians, and Cimmerians.

Now how did these peoples come to be formed? Primitive man, man in the first few thousand years of his existence, was **3. Primitive Man.** very much like any other wild beast; only, he had more intelligence. He found that he could make fire serve him. He found out that he could make things, and that he could throw things; and thereupon he began to use weapons wherewith to fight other beasts and other men. Also he made other tools in the same way that he had made weapons, out of stone and bone and wood. He kept himself alive by eating the fruits of the earth, and by killing beasts or birds or fishes when he had found out how to do so. He found out that he could use some

of the beasts by taming and breeding them, and that he could make food grow out of the ground instead of having to hunt about to find where it was growing already. And he went on finding out that he could make improvements in his weapons and tools. At last a time came when he found out that he could make use of copper and harden it into bronze ; and when once he had learnt the use of metals, his advance went on much quicker. This progress became most marked when he had found out how to use iron. A tribe armed with iron weapons found it easy to conquer those who had nothing better to fight with than bronze or bones or stones.

But man cannot be called primitive man at all when he had got on so far as to use metal. Primitive man hunted and fished and fought with primitive weapons, and **4. Growth of Communities.** perhaps scraped the soil with a primitive hoe. From the earliest times about which anything is known men were living in groups ; not in single separate families, but in communities of people, who supposed themselves all to be descended from some common ancestor.

The tribes moved about from place to place to find new hunting-ground or to steal the hunting-ground of another tribe which was weaker than their own ; or to escape the attacks of another tribe which was stronger. When they began to breed sheep and cattle for the sake of meat and wool and hides and milk, they moved their flocks and herds with them. This is what is called the nomadic or wandering stage. Then it was not so much to find new hunting-ground as to find new pasture that they kept on moving. Of course they fought with other tribes, making slaves of those of the conquered enemy whom they did not kill ; and sometimes they made friendship and alliance with other tribes whom they agreed to regard as brothers.

But if they found themselves in particularly fertile land, they would be inclined to settle down and make the most of the soil. When this happened the community, that is the **settling** tribe or collection of tribes, became agriculturists ; **down.** they were in what is called the agricultural stage. But when they had settled down they set about trying to make themselves more comfortable ; to make better shelters to sleep in, more convenient

garments, and handier utensils. The more improvements they made the more they wanted; and they found that a great deal of labour was saved by every man doing the things that he could do best, leaving other men to do the things that they could do best, and exchanging the things that they had made but did not want for themselves for other things which they wanted and their neighbours had made but did not want. Division of labour in a community made progress much more rapid.

As communities settled down they found that much more was to be got out of making bargains for mutual advantage with other communities than by fighting. So arose commerce or exchange between different communities, which corresponded very much to **Customs and Laws.** division of labour within each community. At a very early stage, long before there had been any settling down, every tribe had got habits or customs of its own which the members were obliged to obey. The bigger the community grew the more necessary it became for rules to be fixed which the whole community was bound to obey; all the more so when different tribes joined together whose customs varied.

When large communities settled down together, all agreeing to be bound by the same laws, they formed a state. Naturally the first large communities which settled permanently did so in the places which were the most fertile, and where it was easiest to keep up a friendly intercourse with neighbour communities. That is why the first states are found in the two great river basins of the Nile and the Euphrates.

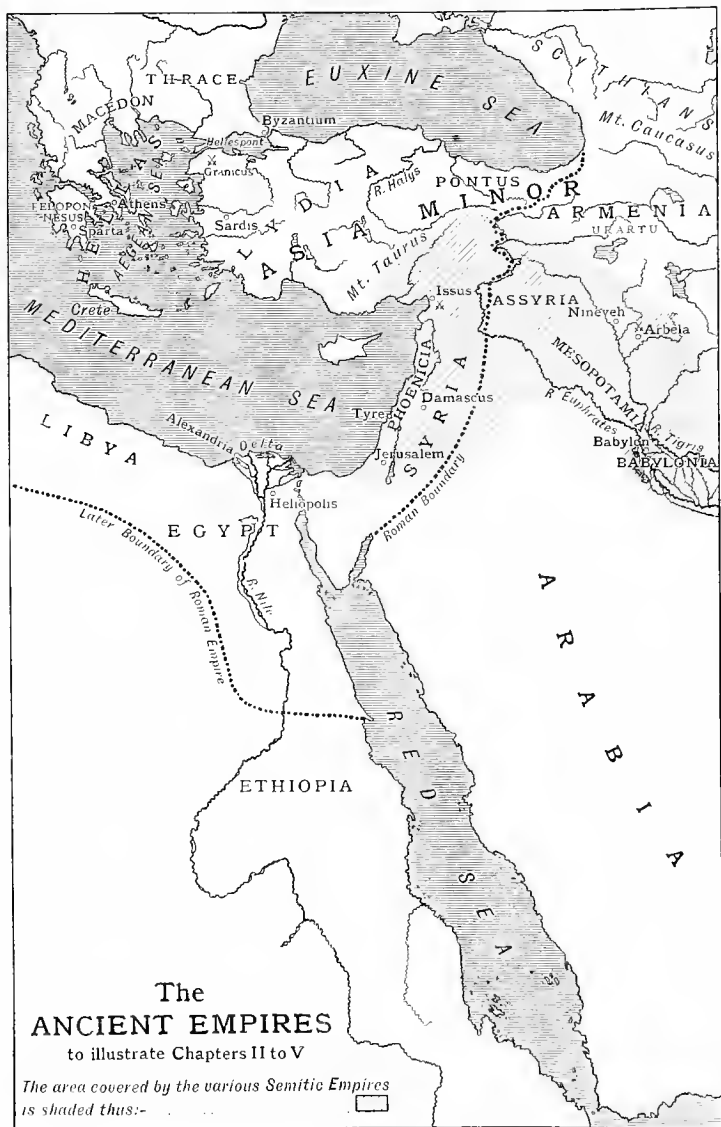
The states would settle down under an ordered government. In all early states there was a ruling class and a slave class, **Monarchy.** the descendants respectively of conquering and conquered tribes. As soon as there is anything to show what sort of government was in existence, we find a king.

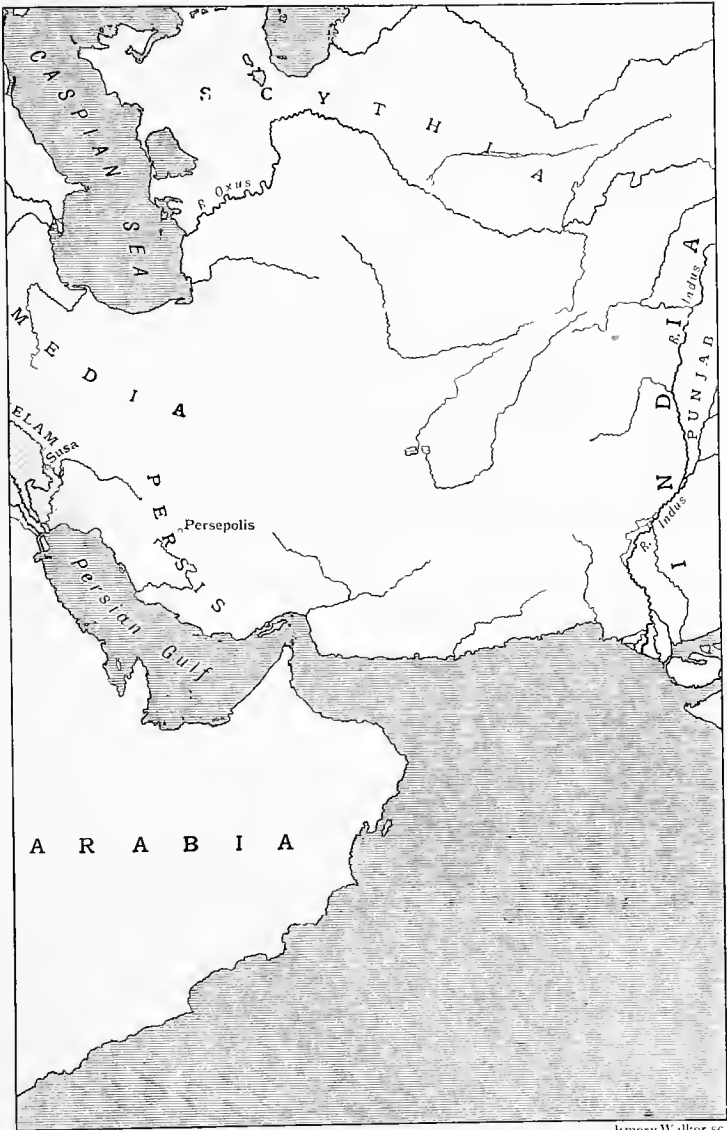
But we cannot say with any certainty that kingship always grew up in the same way. What does seem certain is that no tribes or communities were ever sufficiently organised to form themselves into a permanent State until they had arrived at some kind of a monarchy.

When we pass from this account of a prehistoric society, we

shall find ourselves dealing with the early civilisations of Egypt and the Euphrates valley ; and following upon these the Semitic or partly Semitic Empires in the same regions ; that **First Chapters** is to say, in Egypt and, in Asia west of the Persian **of History**. Gulf. Until somewhere about 2000 B.C. the record is meagre. At about this time the record of the Hebrew people, a Semitic race, begins with Abraham ; and the records become fuller both for Egypt and for Mesopotamia, the land lying between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris.

We shall see all these empires finally absorbed in that of Persia in the sixth century B.C. We shall glance also at the establishment of the Aryan dominion in India, and the development of the pre-Hellenic and Hellenic civilisations on the Eastern Mediterranean. From that time we may consider ourselves as being in the full light of history deliberately recorded in a literary form.





CHAPTER II

THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN AND SEMITIC EMPIRES

FIFTY years ago what we knew about the ancient empires, before Greece and Rome became great, was derived almost entirely from the Hebrew scriptures and from records compiled after the year 500 B.C. But during the last fifty years a number of ancient monuments and tombs have been excavated, revealing ancient inscriptions; and much progress has been made in the art of deciphering these records. Besides these actual graven records, the excavations have provided an immense amount of material from which archaeologists are able to draw conclusions; sometimes with certainty, but sometimes only in the nature of plausible guesses, which cannot be wholly relied on without further evidence. Still, every year produces something fresh. Two generations have added greatly to our knowledge, and we are on the way to learn much more. On the whole it is rather surprising to find how far the new evidence confirms the old authorities.

As concerns Egypt, the main authorities were the legends collected by the Greek Herodotus in the fifth century B.C., and the tables of the learned Egyptian Manetho compiled from the priests' records at a later date. These begin Egyptian history with Menes, the first king of all Egypt, the founder of what is called the First Dynasty. There were twenty-six dynasties in succession, ending with King Psammetichus in 664 B.C. From that time, the rulers of Egypt are not included in the 'Dynastic' list, and the Egyptian Empire came to an end with the conquest of Egypt by the Persian King Cambyses in 525 B.C. According to the pre-

vailing division, the first ten dynasties are known as the Old Empire, the next seven as the Middle Empire, and the remainder, including the last independent sovereigns, as the New Empire.

Now Egyptian history becomes much more precise, and its compilers had much more information to depend on after the year 1580 B.C. than before. This date starts the **Israel in** eighteenth dynasty, which begins the New Empire, **Egypt.** and it marks the time of the expulsion from Egypt of a foreign race which had ruled there probably for some two hundred years. These foreigners are known as the Hyksos or shepherd kings, Semitic invaders who came from Arabia. The time of the prosperity of the Semitic Israelites in Egypt was the time of their rule. The other king who 'knew not Joseph' probably refers to the restoration of a genuine Egyptian dynasty. The 'Exodus' was what we may call the last act in the expulsion of the Hyksos or Semites.

Although the information supplied to Herodotus and Manetho regarding the earlier period was comparatively meagre and legendary, still the priests who gave it had informa- **The Pyramid-** tion of their own derived both from tradition and **builders.** from their knowledge of the actual inscriptions which Egyptologists are deciphering again now; and in its main lines, what Manetho and Herodotus tell us is correct. Some of the oldest monuments in the world are the Pyramids, and Pyramid-builders are positively identified with monarchs of the third and fourth dynasties, Tjeser and Sneferu, Khufu and Khafra, and others; these two last names appearing in Herodotus as Cheops and Chephren, the builders of the biggest Pyramids. The modern authorities place their date somewhere between 3500 and 4000 B.C., the latest date assigned being 3000 B.C. Sneferu was the last king of the third dynasty, and until quite recently he was the earliest whose own actual inscriptions on rock had been identified. Now, there are known inscriptions left by his predecessors. These apparently take us back to the 'First Dynasty'—there are eminent authorities who think they take us back to a dynasty before that which is called the first—and give the impression that Menes, the first king, was a somewhat mythical personage, a composite of two or three first-dynasty kings. At

any rate we can safely say that the Pyramid-builders can be definitely identified and an approximate date given for them—not before 4000 or after 3000 B.C.—and that there were kings before them who left records of their conquests.

It is clear again that our Pyramid-builders were possessed of advanced mathematical knowledge, implying high intellectual cultivation; also that they had control over a vast amount of labour involved in the hewing, carting, and building up of the great blocks of stone of which the Pyramids were made. Also they worked with metal tools. But the tombs of the first kings show that in their time, though metal was in use, stone implements were not altogether out of date, stone tools of an admirable workmanship having been preserved. They were already, long before 4000 B.C., very far removed from being savages. Moreover the records make it clear that hitherto there had been two dominions or states on the Nile, one occupying the Delta, or district where the great river splits up into several streams, like a fan, while the other occupied the Nile valley southward. The first two dynasties were kings of the south, who were much occupied in bringing the north or Delta into subjection, making the single kingdom of Egypt; extending their dominion westwards into what is called Libya, and eastwards into the peninsula of Sinai.

From the Pyramid-builders to the twelfth dynasty, there is much obscurity; but during the twelfth dynasty, Semites appear.

The Hyksos. The Egyptian paintings leave no room for doubt; the artists were accurate delineators of race-types, and the Semite is unmistakable. Somewhere about 1800 B.C., though some authorities prefer an earlier date, the Hyksos invasion took place; though it is not easy to connect the epoch with any other Semitic movement. Probably the rule of the dynasties between the twelfth and the eighteenth was contemporary with that of the foreigners, meaning that there were generally districts over which the Hyksos did not consistently maintain their sway.

Finally, one of these native princes named Aahmes succeeded in expelling the Hyksos about the year 1580 B.C. The new empire begins, and the records become much fuller. The new empire, born of insurrection against foreign

oppression, itself developed a new military character. The kings of this dynasty overcame the Ethiopians on the south-east of Egypt, and carried their arms into Asia, and began to come into collision with the Hittites in Syria; but the great conqueror was Thothmes III. in the first half of the fifteenth century. We turn now to the development of the Asiatic Empires with which Egypt was thus brought in direct contact.

The story of the Asiatic Empires begins in the region called Babylonia. The whole district lying enclosed by the two great rivers Euphrates and Tigris is called Mesopotamia, **3. Mesopotamia.** meaning the land between the rivers. Babylonia **tamia.** includes the south-eastern half of this district, with the basins of both the rivers and the land lying between their junction and the Persian Gulf. Babylonia itself is divided into two, to begin with; the southern part called Sumer, and the northern called Akkad.

The earliest records—that is, graven inscriptions—take us back at least as far as the earliest Egyptian records; and already we find the presence of two distinct races marked, **Sumerians and Semites.** who are known as Sumerians and Semites. The language and the ‘script,’ that is the ‘cuneiform’ or arrow-shaped writing, are Sumerian—neither Semitic nor Aryan; and they remain the official language and script long after the language had become much changed by a Semitic admixture. The probabilities are that the Sumerians had become a fairly highly civilised people—civilised enough to have created the art of writing—before the more vigorous but ruder Semites appeared on the scene; and the Semites adopted the civilisation which they found before them. In the same sort of way, some thousands of years later, the Teutons conquered Western Europe, but the Latin language and civilisation prevailed over the conquerors in the regions where Rome had held sway before. Outside the Sumerian area the Semite characteristics prevailed as the Teutonic characteristics prevailed outside the bounds of the old Roman Empire.

Probably these Semites, like the later Semitic waves, came out of Arabia, crossed Syria, the region between the Upper Euphrates and the Mediterranean, entered Mesopotamia, and bore down south-eastwards upon the land of Sumer.

At this early period we find records of several Sumerian cities, warring with each other, and achieving predominance. A **Sargon :** definite supremacy was established by the Semites
2700 B.C. of Akkadia under the great King Sargon and his son Naram-Sin, and Sargon carried his conquering arms as far as the Mediterranean. They ruled, probably, somewhere between 3000 and 2700 B.C., and at this time there was certainly intercourse between Babylonia and Arabia. Sargon is the founder of the Empire, and in after ages the Semites of Babylonia based their claim to supremacy on the tradition of his greatness. After Naram-Sin, however, princes and governors recovered independence and occasional supremacy; and sundry dynasties are recorded as kings of 'Sumer and Akkad.' The city of Eridu, at the head of the Persian Gulf, became their capital. Babylon had not yet achieved its pre-eminence.

Now in the latter part of the third millennium—that is, somewhat earlier than the year 2000 B.C.—there was a second great **The Semitic** movement of Semitic expansion, starting out of
Migrations. Arabia. This is called the Canaanite wave. It swept up over Palestine and Syria, occupied those regions permanently, and again entered Mesopotamia on the north-west. These invading Semites were pastoral nomads, owners of flocks and herds, who did not destroy the states they found before them, but amalgamated with their Semitic predecessors. Of this stock came Abraham, the father of the Hebrew people, who migrated from Ur 'of the Chaldees' to Canaan not long after Babylon had risen to supremacy in Mesopotamia under a Semitic dynasty. The Hyksos invasion of Egypt must be regarded as a wave of this Semitic expansion. In the meantime we have to remark that a considerable Semitic power had grown up at Asshur on the north of Mesopotamia; and another non-Semitic power in Elam, on the east of Sumer and Akkad, which acquired a temporary supremacy over that kingdom at the time when the new Semitic Babylonian Empire was being founded.

This 'First Babylonian Dynasty,' under which Babylon assumed **Hammurabi,** the leading position, began with Sumu-abu, a little
circa 2000 B.C. before 2000 B.C. The fifth in succession after Sumu-abu was the great Hammurabi of whom we read in the Old

Testament as Abraham's contemporary under the name of Amraphel, when Chedorlaomer was King of Elam. Hammurabi was a very great ruler, who enjoyed a very long reign, and brought most of what is called on the map (1) 'the area of Semitic Empire' under his sway. But he is especially notable because he drew up a great legal code, which was engraved on a great block of stone, and is preserved to this day. From this Code of Hammurabi we see what was the nature of the Babylonian state; how it was divided into the three classes of nobles, freemen and slaves, the legal rights possessed by each class, the penalties for misdoings, the independent position of the women, the regulations for trade and commerce. All these show that a very high standard of civilisation, and an elaborate system of justice and government had been attained four thousand years ago. It was not Hammurabi who made these laws, but it was he who gave them permanent shape, much like our King Alfred in England.

In the time of Hammurabi's successor, an independent principality was set up on the north coast of the Persian Gulf, which was called the Kingdom of the Sea. Three or four generations later, new forces appeared on the scene. Barbarian tribes called the Kassites attacked Babylonia from the east, having perhaps first mastered Elam; and from the west came an invasion of the Hittites, or Khatti, who are by no means to be confused with the Kassites.

The Hittites were not like the Semites. Possibly they were early inhabitants of Asia Minor, the land beyond the ranges of Mount Taurus; it is not likely that they were akin to the people whom we shall find in Italy under the name of Etruscans, or to the predecessors of the Hellenes in Greece who are usually called Pelasgians; but we can say with certainty that they were not Aryans. Their invasion of Babylonia seems to have been a great raid rather than a conquest; but they remained in occupation of some part of North-western Mesopotamia, where they set up the kingdom of Mitani, extending into Syria.

The Kassites however came as conquerors, when Babylon was weakened by the Hittite raid and by the defiance of the Country

of the Sea. By an error, these kings of the Sea-Country have been spoken of as the 'Second Babylonian Dynasty'; hence **The Kassites.** the Kassite dynasty is called the third. They mastered Akkadia to begin with, and at a later stage completed the conquest, overthrowing the kings of the sea. But like all other conquerors of Babylonia, they succumbed to the existing civilisation. While they were dominant, there came another wave of Semitic expansion, called the Aramaic; and this resulted in the immediate rise of Assyria, with its capital at Asshur and later at Nineveh, to challenge the Babylonian and Hittite powers. This rise of Assyria is almost contemporaneous with the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt.

While the eighteenth dynasty was ruling in the land of the Nile, we have seen how Thothmes III. appeared as a conqueror **The Tell el-Amarna Letters.** in Syria. At a rather later stage, while the same dynasty was in Egypt, and the Kassites were still at Babylon, we have records of the relations of all these powers in the great collection of tablets known as the Tell el-Amarna letters, which have very recently been discovered (in 1888). These were letters to the Egyptian kings Amenhotep I. and II., from the Kassite King of Babylon, the Hittite King of Mitani, from another King of Khatti or Hittites, from the King of Assyria, and other lesser kings. They discuss royal marriages, and usually ask for money. All the kings use the same manner of writing, the cuneiform, and the same language, the dialect of Babylon—very much as the different courts of Europe communicate with each other in French. Even the King of Egypt, who reckoned himself a much greater potentate than any of the others, used the Babylonian language, and Babylonian literature was taught in the Egyptian schools.

We must now revert to Egypt itself, and the successors of the great Thothmes. His immediate successors maintained **4. Egypt.** the prestige of Egypt; but then there came a time, at the close of the fifteenth century, when the priestly caste became predominant. Amenhotep III. began making handsome presents to the princes of Asia, by way of averting war; hence the correspondence above referred to, since the Asiatic princes were all anxious to ask for more.

Next came Amenhotep IV., or Akhenaten, a great religious reformer, who attempted to purify the existing religion, and to make it a real worship of One God, symbolised by the disc of the sun ; but though he managed to impose his own doctrines on his neighbours during his own life, the new system was very soon overthrown after his death ; and Egyptian orthodoxy was represented by the nineteenth dynasty, known as that of the Ramesides, or house of Rameses, the name of its first king.

Akhenaten.

About this time, the Mitani kingdom was definitely absorbed into the main Hittite power which was now dominating Syria. The third king of this dynasty, Rameses II., obtained from posterity credit for being one of the great rulers of the world. The Greeks called him Sesostris.

Rameses II.

As a matter of fact, although he reigned for more than sixty years, from the end of the fourteenth to the middle of the thirteenth century, his achievements were not very remarkable. But the great monuments of his great predecessors, and their doings, were all attributed to him. He waged war with the Hittites, which ended in an alliance, apparently highly favourable to the Hittites. It has been supposed that his son Menepthah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus ; but by this time the Hebrews had probably been already long settled in Palestine. In these days we hear of pirates from over the sea who are clearly to be identified with the Achaeans and Danaans, the names by which the earliest certainly known Hellenic or Greek races were called. This Ramesid dynasty glorified itself greatly by the building of temples and monuments. It was upset by a brief Syrian domination, the raid of a successful captain ; but the former dynasty was apparently restored with the twentieth. In this group comes a third Rameses, who is distinguished for having repelled a great naval attack by the combined forces of the more or less Hellenic pirates from the islands and especially from Crete. The Egyptian power expanded into Libya, but in so doing completely lost its hold on Asia.

Appearance of Hellenes.

The period of the next Egyptian dynasty coincides roughly with that of the rise of the Hebrew kingdom under Saul and David, who broke the power of the Philistines, a Cretan race who had established themselves on the south of

The Hebrew Kingdom.

Palestine, and had played a part in the pirate attack upon Egypt. King Solomon married a daughter of one of the last of these Pharaohs. The Hebrew power was consolidated and widely extended under Saul, and especially under David; but after Solomon's death it was broken up by the rift between Israel and Judah. Politically, the two kingdoms at once became nothing more than two minor principalities, generally but irregularly paying tribute to one or another of the greater kingdoms.

Jeroboam's revolt took place shortly before his friend Sheshonk, or Shishak, secured his own succession to the last Pharaoh of

The last Egyptian Dynasties. the twenty-first dynasty; his mother being a royal princess, though otherwise he was of Libyan descent. For a long while the Libyans had been the mainstay of the Egyptian army. Under this twenty-second dynasty, which ruled for about 200 years (B.C. 930-730), Egypt really broke up into a number of practically independent principalities. This resulted, towards 700, in the establishment of a dynasty of Pharaohs from Ethiopia, beyond the southern confines of Egypt proper. It was in their day that the army of the Assyrian Sennacherib was destroyed, probably by an outbreak of the Plague.

When the Tell el-Amarna letters were written, Assyria or Asshur was beginning to assert its independence and to demand recognition as a sovereign state, in spite of the pro-
5. Assyria and Babylonia. tests of the Kassite King of Babylon. Not long afterwards, a revolution in Babylon gave the Assyrian monarch a chance of taking control of the Babylonian government. The Kassite dynasty was in decay, and Assyria became the great rival of the Mitani kingdom for the dominion of upper Mesopotamia; while the advancing Hittites absorbed Syria. This race was at the height of its power in the days of Rameses II. Much however still remains to be learnt concerning it from a quantity of Hittite inscriptions which have hitherto remained undecipherable. From this time it ceases to be prominent. The Aramaean wave of Semitic migration has been credited with helping the first rise of Assyria; but it can certainly claim to have been largely concerned in driving back

the Hittites, and when Syria again emerges as a definite power with its capital at Damascus, it is definitely Aramaean. The consolidation of its power was due to the king, who appears in the Old Testament as Ben-hadad.

The Kassite dynasty of Babylon was overthrown, and for a long period Assyria and Babylon strove with alternating success for supremacy in Mesopotamia. Perhaps the **Strife for Babylon** the truest way of looking at this period is to see in **Babylonia**. Babylonia itself a state for which Assyria and an Elamite power were striving, the successes of Babylon against Assyria really meaning the success of Elam. But the immediate successors of the Kassites were a genuine Babylonian dynasty which ejected the foreign rulers, and under Nebuchadnezzar I. (not the king we read of in the Bible) revived the glories of Babylon for a short time. Here again the inability of Babylon to maintain itself against Assyrians on one side and Elamites on the other may be due to the incursions of the Aramaeans; possibly the Chaldeans, who now become prominent in Babylonia, as tribes in the south-eastern region, are to be connected with this new Semitic migration. When Babylon once again rises to a great empire under the Nebuchadnezzar of the Old Testament, the dynasty is Chaldean. Between these two Nebuchadnezzars, Babylon itself may be regarded as being in a state of eclipse—for a period of about 500 years.

During this time Assyria must be treated as the leading power, in spite of the general uncertainty of its supremacy. Tiglath-pileser I., after a fashion somewhat common with **Assyrian Supremacy**. Assyrian kings, began his reign as a successful **Supremacy**. conqueror, who carried his arms northward into the mountains of Armenia or Urartu, cleared Northern Mesopotamia of rivals, and claimed dominion as far west as the Mediterranean, where Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon had been before him. Then came disaster, and a long period followed as to which the Assyrian records convey the most meagre information. When they become less scanty, at the beginning of the ninth **Aramaean Incursion**. century, the Aramaeans had obviously set up **Incursion**. principalities of their own over a great part of the nominal Assyrian empire. A struggle between Assyria and the

Aramaeans was about to begin. Not that there was any one great Aramaean state, at least to begin with; but the numerous small states joined each other in insurrections, and occasionally got help from Babylon—refusing tribute when opportunity offered, and submitting when resistance looked unpromising.

Thus it would seem that during the greater part of the eleventh and tenth centuries, all the great powers were leaving the whole Syrian region without much interference. This no doubt facilitated the rise of the Hebrew kingdom, and allowed the maritime advancement of the Phoenician cities north of **Phoenicia.** Canaan. The Phoenicians were one of the Canaanitic Semite groups, who gave themselves, unlike most other Semites, vigorously to the development of maritime commerce. They never formed an empire or a powerful military state; but they sent out a colony to Carthage, half way down the Mediterranean, and acquired a monopoly of the sea-borne carrying trade. Of the five principal cities Tyre achieved the pre-eminence, and its king Hiram figures as the friend and ally of Solomon, whose sovereignty may have been vaguely recognised far beyond the borders of the real Hebrew kingdom. The whole coast region had passed entirely out of the Assyrian dominion: and when Jeroboam divided the Hebrew kingdom, the superior power to whom tribute was paid was Sheshonk or Shishak, King of Egypt.

Assyria renewed its activity under Ashurnasirpal, who died in 858, after a reign spent in campaigns chiefly on the north and east, but extended latterly to Phoenicia. Meanwhile the strong city of Damascus had become the chief, and the **Syria and Assyria.** outpost, of the Aramaean states in Syria. Here Ashurnasirpal did not venture an attack. His son Shalmaneser, however, a statesman as well as a soldier, made the attempt; recognising that Damascus was really the gate of Syria and the south. He defeated the confederation of southern kings headed by Ben-hadad, but was obliged to retire. A little later, when Hazael had succeeded Ben-hadad and Jehu had supplanted Ahab in Israel, he tried again, but failed in his siege of Damascus. After this, in spite of later Assyrian attacks,

Damascus continued for more than a century to defy the northern power, and to maintain a supremacy among the southern states of which it was the bulwark.

Though foiled in Syria, Shalmaneser established his dominion even beyond the Taurus mountain range and in Urartu; and in his reign and his son's, tribute was exacted from chiefs of the tribes in Media of which we now hear—the first unmistakable collision between the Semitic powers and an Aryan race. During the first half of the eighth century, Assyria was fully occupied in holding the ground it had won. The next advance took place in the reign of Tiglath-pileser IV., beginning in 745 B.C.

Complete disintegration was threatening to set in when this military usurper seized the throne, and very promptly made his vigour and activity felt. Chaldeans and old Baby- **Tiglath-pileser** lonians were fighting for the crown in Babylon, on **IV.**

the south-east. Urartu on the north was threatening to extend dominion into Syria, and Damascus was defiant. In one campaign, Tiglath-pileser established the non-Chaldean Nabonassar as his own subordinate in Babylon. A series of campaigns cleared Mesopotamia, crushed back Urartu, and brought Phœnicia into subjection; a province was annexed from Urartu itself. Damascus and the south paid tribute, but again revolted. By this time, the southern states were divided between Syrian and Assyrian factions, and on the approach of Tiglath-pileser most of them made submission; Damascus held **Triumph of** out stubbornly but fell at last, and an Assyrian **Assyria.** governor was appointed. Finally Babylon was brought directly under the sway of the Assyrian.

It would seem that there was a constant rivalry between the priestly caste and the military caste—between church and army, so to speak. Repeatedly, a military dynasty overturned, or was overturned by, one which leaned on the priesthood. We have seen the same thing in Egypt; for a long time a similar struggle went on in India; something analogous will be found in the mediæval contest between the empire and the papacy. Tiglath-pileser's son Shalmaneser was succeeded by Sargon, the nominee of the priests, and the effect was to compel the crown to rely on

mercenary armies instead of on what may be called national or feudal levies. Still, Sargon's military prowess was rather encouraged, because his mercenaries required to be satisfied by chances of plunder; and he extended his boundaries on every side beyond the limits which Tiglath-pileser had reached.

He was succeeded in 705 by Sennacherib, who was of the other party. By this time, the Israelite kingdom had disappeared altogether, but Judah remained, and strove **Sennacherib.** with the support of Egypt to make head against the merciless Assyrian power, which had adopted the practice of deporting and transplanting conquered populations wholesale. Both Tyre and Jerusalem successfully defied the armies of Sennacherib, who attempted to invade Egypt where the Ethiopian Tirhakah was Pharaoh. The Angel of the Lord smote his hosts, according to the Biblical account: field-mice nibbled their bow-strings, according to the Egyptian version. An outbreak of plague, heralded as is often the case by the appearance of an army of rats, affords a plausible reconciliation of the two stories. That there was a terrific catastrophe attributed generally to a divine visitation seems certain.

Sennacherib was assassinated, and his son Esarhaddon favoured Babylonia and the priests as against the Assyrian nationalists and military nobility. We are now well within the seventh century B.C.; and the Semitic empires begin to feel the pressure of new Barbarian peoples—now for the first time of the Aryan stock. Not the highly civilised Aryans of Europe and Western Asia Minor, with whom the Semites had not yet come in contact, but migrating races which had not organised states. These are **Cimmerians** the Cimmerians, descending apparently on Armenia **and Medes.** or Urartu by way of the Caucasus, the Ashkuza, Scythians, and Medes from the north-east and east. As yet, however, these are still threatening rather than actually invading the Assyrian empire. Esarhaddon thought more about conquering Egypt, where he effected a temporary occupation, drove the Ethiopian Pharaoh back to Ethiopia, and set up Assyrian governors. A revolt of Esarhaddon's son Ashurbanipal very soon gave Tirhakah the chance of recovering Egypt.

Ashurbanipal in his turn was chosen by the military party, as

against his brother whom Esarhaddon had selected. He promptly recaptured Egypt; as soon as his back was turned, Tirhakah's successor won it back, only to be finally expelled by **Sardana-** another Assyrian expedition. The Egyptians, how- **palus, 668.** ever, being rid of the Ethiopians, at once threw off the yoke of the conqueror, who had too much on his hands elsewhere to leave an adequate army of occupation in the south. The twenty-sixth Egyptian dynasty begins with Psammetichus.

The Cimmerians were now sweeping over Asia Minor, and playing havoc with Lydia and the neighbouring dominions which were beyond the Assyrian sphere; Ashurbanipal did not intervene. But unfortunately he was impelled to attack Elam, that elusive state on the east, which was still at least a barrier between Mesopotamia and the advancing Aryan hordes on that side, as Urartu had been on the other. On the whole Ashurbanipal, whose name has also the more familiar form of Sardanapalus, was a successful ruler. He was also an energetic collector of records and of literature, to whose labours we owe almost all our information. But after his death, about 630, Assyria rapidly collapsed.

In Babylon the Chaldeans, the party persistently hostile to Assyria, captured the throne. The Chaldean king, Nabopolassar, allied himself with the Median chief (called Cyaxares **The End of** by the Greek historian Herodotus), who had won an **Assyria.** imperial position in that nation. Chaldeans from the south and Medes from the east advanced upon upper Mesopotamia. The Cimmerians had already disappeared, having been finally broken up by the Lydian power. The 'Ashkuza,' the Aryan group intermediate between Medes and Cimmerians, were allies of Assyria, but were expelled by Cyaxares, who captured and sacked Nineveh, which was levelled to the ground, and other cities of Northern Assyria, which simply ceased to exist. The new Chaldean empire claimed for its share Chaldea, Mesopotamia, and everything south of the Euphrates and west as **The Chaldean** far as Mount Taurus and Phoenicia; the new Median **Empires, 605.** empire claimed everything from the Persian Gulf upwards, on the east and north of the Tigris, as far west as the river Halys. On the west of Asia Minor, Lydia was paramount.

This was the position when Nabopolassar died. His son, Nebuchadnezzar, who was engaged at the time in pushing the Chaldean claim in the far south-west (where the Egyptian Pharaoh Necho, the son of Psammetichus I., was trying to take advantage of Assyria's collapse), made a swift march back to Babylon, stamped out all resistance, and secured the succession. Then he returned to the south, and completed the establishment of his power as far as the bounds of Egypt proper. In the process, he carried off the Jews into their Babylonian captivity. The Egyptian Pharaoh of this time was the Hophra of the Old Testament, called Apries by Herodotus.

Nebuchadnezzar was a successful warrior; he was also a mighty engineer and builder, who constructed the 'hanging gardens of Babylon' which were numbered among the seven wonders of the world, designed great canal-works for the military defence of Babylon, fortified the northern frontier, and built many temples. He would seem to have further organised the empire which had now acquired a greater extent than that of Sargon or Hammurabi. But it was destined to a brief duration. A few years after his death in 561, the sceptre passed to Nabonidus, in whose reign a new power arose among the Medes, which displaced the Median supremacy, conquered and swallowed up Lydia and the Chaldean empire, and had added Egypt to its dominion before the century closed. Of this we shall read in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE ARYAN MIGRATIONS: RISE OF THE HELLENES AND OF PERSIA

WHILE these empires of Western Asia were growing and changing, there was going on all round them the expansion of that other race, not akin, so far as we know, to **1. The Aryan** any of those with whom we have been concerned **Migrations.** hitherto. Of this other race one branch made its way into India, where it remained almost entirely cut off from the main stream of the world's history; as happened also to the Mongolian race which created the remote Empire of China. A second branch was to win the lordship over all the lands whose history has been related; this conquering race, however, was not to absorb the conquered, but to be absorbed by them. A third group was to develop the most fruitful of all civilisations, and was to become the bulwark of the West against the expansion of the East.

Of the Aryan migration into India we may content ourselves for the present with saying that the conquering race burst through the mountain passes probably at about **The Aryans** the time when Hammurabi was flourishing at **in India.** Babylon. By degrees they made themselves masters of the north-west corner of India which is called the Punjab, which means the land of the five rivers—the Indus and its tributaries. They set up kingdoms just as long ages afterwards Angles and Saxons set up various kingdoms in England. They went on expanding, conquering, and setting up more kingdoms till they ruled over the whole basin of the great river Ganges and its

tributaries, which empties itself into the Bay of Bengal; and they pushed south to the Nerbudda, which flows into the Arabian Sea. In the plains they entirely subdued the earlier populations whom they enslaved. In the course of time they spread beyond the regions that have been spoken of, which bear the general name of Hindustan. But their conquest of the hilly regions southwards, called the Deccan, was never so complete; and the older, darker races, which are called Dravidian, to a great extent preserved their independence and their own languages and customs. Kingdoms developed into empires in Hindustan, but no Indian prince ever attempted to recross the mountains into Western Asia as a conqueror. There is a veil between India and the West, which was drawn aside only at long intervals and for brief periods, until the nations of Western Europe found an ocean route to the East only four hundred years ago.

There is a great range of mountains which runs, roughly speaking, parallel to the river Tigris on the north-east from **Medes and Persians.** the Persian Gulf up to the mountain regions of Armenia. On the east of this, or at any rate east of a line drawn from the foot of the Caspian Sea to near the head of the Persian Gulf, the empires of Elam and Babylon and Assyria never seem to have exercised effective rule. At some period unknown, the regions immediately to the east of this land were occupied by the Aryan races called the Medes and Persians. But it is not till the seventh century B.C. that the Medes became an aggressive though still uncivilised power. Towards the middle of the sixth century B.C. Western Asia, leaving out Arabia, was divided into three great dominions. West of a line drawn from the middle of the Black Sea coast southwards to the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean was the dominion of Lydia. The rest, south and west of the river Tigris, was the Chaldean Empire; while north and east of the Tigris lay the Median Empire.

Among the Persian tribes at the south-eastern corner of this empire arose in the middle of this sixth century the mighty warrior Cyrus, who first seized for himself the Median throne, then conquered Lydia, and finally crushed and absorbed the

Chaldean Empire. It remained for his son Cambyses to overthrow Egypt and add that to the new Persian Empire.

Now we can see that the real boundaries of the ancient empires, whose stories we have told in the last chapter, were set by the great mountain chain which is shown on the map, the western part of which is called Mount **Asia Minor.** Taurus, which bends northward to the head-waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and then south-eastwards beyond the Tigris to the Persian Gulf. The western part of this territory beyond the mountains, the land lying between the Black Sea and the north-east coast of the Mediterranean, is Asia Minor. The Hittite Empire arose in Asia Minor and spread into Syria, but the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires never maintained any prolonged hold of the regions beyond the mountains.

The early history of these regions is obscure. Their populations were pretty certainly akin to the pre-Semitic peoples of Mesopotamia. How far the Semites penetrated among them and combined with them, as they did with the peoples of Syria and Mesopotamia, is uncertain. It is uncertain even whether the Hittites should be classed as Semites; and finally, it is uncertain when and how far an Aryan element entered and predominated.

It is not impossible that there were Aryan predecessors of that wave of migration which is called Hellenic, which entered Asia from Europe. It is agreed, however, that the Hellenic migration was entering Greece and spreading over the islands of the Aegean Sea by the middle of the second millennium; and that before the close of that millennium it was occupying the districts along the coast. Our earliest recorded information about the Hellenes is derived from the Homeric Poems, which were probably not written till about 800 B.C., but were based on poems and ballads which had grown up during earlier centuries, and represented much earlier traditions.

They tell of the war of the Greeks, generally spoken of as Achaeans or Danaans, against Troy, under the leadership of Agamemnon, the King of Mycenae. Excavations at Mycenae, a town in the Peloponnesus, and at Troy, have proved that there

**2. The
Hellenes
or Greeks.**

really were great cities at both those places with an advanced civilisation long before the year 1000 B.C. Excavations in the island of Crete have shown that there also, as well as at Mycenae, the civilisation at this early stage was of a Greek type. And we have from Egypt records of mail-clad warriors coming by sea from the north with names which quite certainly represent Achaeans and Danaans.

It appears, then, that about the middle of the second millennium this Hellenic group was establishing or had established itself in the Grecian Peninsula and in the islands of the Aegean Sea, including Crete. This group subsequently split into two divisions called **Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians.** Aeolian and Ionian. Then a little later came another Hellenic group from the north-west called the Dorians, who made themselves masters of the western half of the Peninsula, the whole of the Peloponnesus, and many of the islands, by a date which we may put down at about 1000 B.C. By this time Ionians and Aeolians had already established themselves also on the coast of Asia Minor. The Dorians did likewise; and also established dynasties among the states already existing in Asia Minor, or the western part of it, notably in the state called Lydia, which had its capital at Sardis. A little later this Lydian state extended its supremacy over nearly the whole of Asia Minor, until, as we saw, it shared Western Asia with the Median and Chaldean Empires.

When we speak of a state or people being civilised, we mean first of all that it lives under an ordered government which protects the lives and property of its citizens; it has learnt discipline and obedience to authority. **Civilisation.** Secondly, we mean that it has acquired a degree of proficiency in sciences and arts which enables it to provide itself with comforts and luxuries, and generally with the means of adding to the enjoyments of life. No test of civilisation is more important than that of Government. Now, in all the states that we have dealt with so far, we have found them concerned with lordship over large territories. We have not found in any of them a very highly organised government, or one in which any large proportion of the people have a share. There is not, in

short, much sense of the rights of the governed or of the duties of the governors. But when we come to the Hellenes we find a different state of things altogether.

As soon as we have any records of them they are already dwellers in well-built cities, in possession of many luxuries, endowed with what we may call a literature, and skilled in the work of the smith, the potter, the engraver, and the architect. On the other hand, though we find a **Hellenic Characteristics.** Hellenic people in the sense that all Hellenes look upon each other as kinsmen of the same race, and upon all who do not belong to that race as an inferior folk whom they classify all together as barbarians, we do not find a Hellenic nation in the sense that any great mass of Hellenes recognise a single government common to them all. On the contrary, every city regards itself as a separate state, and the members of all other cities as aliens. The Hellenic world is broken up into a hundred states, which may combine together for the purpose of a war, and may for that purpose even temporarily recognise a single leader; but they do not own any common government. Each state, however, is in the early stage governed in the same way as its neighbours. There is a king. There is a council of elders or chiefs. There is a general assembly of all the freemen who bear arms.

When the migrations ceased, and all the Greeks had settled down, we soon find changes in this original system of government; but we can perceive with a fair degree of accuracy how the changes came about. And we are helped in forming our ideas about this by our knowledge of the way in which the government of other Aryan nations grew up at a time when there were civilised observers who studied their institutions, as travellers and explorers nowadays study and record the manners and customs of barbaric peoples.

With the Greeks we have no record of a time before they were ruled over by kings and a council of chiefs who were also entitled to their position by hereditary right. Also they always had the Assembly of Freemen who were entitled to be consulted on matters of grave importance. With our own Teutonic ancestors, however, we **Greek Government: Kingship.**

can see the kingship in the making. When the Roman observers studied them, many of the tribes had no kings, but only chose a war-leader for a campaign or series of campaigns. Then the war-leader became war-leader for life, and civil head of the state as well, and the office became fixed in one family. The probabilities are that kingship arose among the Greeks in just the same way.

But the kingship did not last. In the days of the Homeric Poems there were kings everywhere. But the rule was almost universal, that the council of chiefs gradually deprived the king of his power, till the royal family came to be of no more account than that of other chiefs ; or else they got rid of the royal family altogether. When this had happened the state was controlled by

Aristocracies. a hereditary aristocracy or oligarchy, the government of the few. Then came contests between the aristocracy and the general body of citizens who claimed a larger share in the government. Sometimes the aristocracy kept its power, though usually when this happened it was because it admitted the more powerful of the other citizens to its ranks. But nearly always the time came when some one, pretending to act as a leader of the people, succeeded in making himself a despot ; or, as the Greeks call such men, *tyrannos*, from which

Tyrants. we take the word tyrant. These 'tyrants' or usurpers were often very able men ; but except in very rare cases, where they had really been placed in power by the will of the people, they could only maintain themselves by means of a hired soldiery, and became generally detested. No dynasty of Tyrants endured for many generations ; and when they were expelled it was sometimes to make way for a restoration of the aristocracy, and sometimes for a popular government or democracy.

During the seventh century B.C. there was another movement among the Hellenic peoples. When we have spoken before of **Colonisation.** migrations, we have meant by that the movement of great groups of clans or tribes which were constantly moving onwards, partly because there were more tribes pressing on behind them, until they conquered for themselves cities or districts from which they could not be driven out, and

where they were satisfied to establish themselves permanently. Now, in the seventh century, the Hellenes had already taken possession of the whole of the Greek Peninsula and all the islands in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, and most of the coast of Asia Minor. They could not go conquering inland in Asia Minor; partly because they did not wish to move away from the sea, and partly because no state could muster an army big enough to go conquering on its own account. Still a great many of the cities began to feel themselves overcrowded; and so began an era of colonisation, when one city after another sent out great expeditions to establish cities wherever they could, across the sea. In this way a number of Greek cities were founded in Sicily and on the south coast of Italy, and even as far away as the south coast of what is now France, at Massilia, which has very nearly kept its name to this day in the form of Marseilles. In these regions they had no organised governments opposed to them to prevent their settlement; though in Sicily they presently found themselves opposed to the rivalry of the great Phœnician colony at Carthage on the north coast of Africa facing Sicily, which had become an independent state, and was sending its ships and its colonists to regions more remote than were reached even by the Greek seamen.

**Distribution
of the
Hellenes.**

Now, if we look at a map of the Balkan and Greek Peninsula, the whole of the southern part was now occupied by people who recognised each other as Hellenes, who were all living in city-states such as have been described. Next to the northward come the regions of Macedonia and Epirus, which were as a matter of fact Hellenic, but were comparatively uncivilised, and were not recognised by their southern kinsmen. Then between the Adriatic and Black Seas, south of the river Danube or Ister, come Illyria on the west and Thrace on the east. The peoples here were Aryan; the Illyrians probably of the common stock which had divided into Hellenes and Italians. The Thracians may either have been of the same stock, or have belonged to the Slavonic group; but they never took their place as a civilised people.

Through Thrace there poured into Asia during the seventh

century a host of barbaric tribes who were called Cimmerians. They threatened the destruction of the Assyrian Empire ; but their domination did not last long, as they were overthrown by the Lydian King Alyattes, and were either driven out of the land altogether, or absorbed among the previous inhabitants. This Cimmerian incursion was merely an episode without permanent effect ; but the victory of Alyattes greatly aided that prince in consolidating the Lydian dominion, which attained its greatest power under its last monarch Croesus, whose name has become proverbial for his enormous wealth. He succeeded in bringing the Greek states of Asia Minor under his dominion, and when he himself was overthrown by Cyrus, these Greek states with the rest of the Lydian territories were absorbed into the new Persian Empire.

Among the states of the Greek peninsula many have attained celebrity. In early days the Doric city of Argos stood in the front rank, and had never resigned its pretensions to be a leading state. Corinth, another Dorian state, was famous and prosperous, and a great coloniser. Thebes, an Aeolian city in the district of Boeotia, claimed a sort of supremacy in Boeotia itself, was the central point of ancient legends, and was to become for a short period during the fourth century B.C. the leading state of Hellas. But there are two states which stand out prominently above the rest, the Dorian Sparta, or Lacedaemon, and the Ionian Athens.

Sparta had at all times been acknowledged as a state which at any rate had no superior. In her wars with other Greek states, however protracted, she had habitually proved victorious in the end. Her organisation aimed at military efficiency, and made everything else subordinate to that. Tradition attributed her peculiar system to a law-giver named Lycurgus. Political power was in the hands of the dominant tribe called Spartiatae or Spartans, who lived under severe discipline, were trained to the highest capacity of physical endurance, and won the reputation of being invincible in battle. All the officers of state were taken from this tribe. The rest of the population consisted of the free Lacedaemonians, and of the Helots, the earlier inhabitants whom the Dorians had enslaved,

and who were held in subjection. Sparta was almost the only state of importance which was never brought under a Tyrant, and in fact never departed from a hereditary kingship. But instead of having one hereditary monarch, she had two hereditary kings. Though their powers were extremely restricted they made it practically impossible for any one man to snatch at a despotism. The real power of the state, however, lay in the hands of a small body called the Ephors, who themselves held office only for a year. In the sixth century B.C. Sparta was recognised as the most powerful of the Greek states ; and wherever any concerted action was proposed among those states she had a predominant voice in their counsels, and an acknowledged right to their military leadership.

In strong contrast to Sparta was Athens, who, without especially devoting herself to military organisation or the pursuit of military glory, became in the fifth century the rival of Sparta for supremacy in the Hellenic world. Athens. Unlike Sparta, Athens had progressed steadily from the monarchy of early times to democracy, or government which sought to give expression to the will of the people at large. The kings had gradually lost their royal functions, which were partly divided among officers called Archons, who held office for a fixed period which finally became a year ; and were partly absorbed by the council of the nobles. But more and more the freemen strove to obtain increased rights in the appointment of public officers and in eligibility to public offices. At last the free citizens came to be divided into classes mainly according to the extent of their property, the different classes having different degrees of political power, until by degrees all were admitted to full political rights. But this did not come about until the middle of the fourth century. In Athens, as everywhere else, there was a large slave population which had no political rights at all. The most famous among the law-givers of Athens was Solon, who in the sixth century arranged the quarrels of the aristocracy and the commons so as greatly to increase the power of the latter, while still giving a dominant voice to the former.

But after the time of Solon, the system still failed to satisfy

the commons, and Athens underwent the usual fate. A clever politician named Pisistratus succeeded in making himself despot or Tyrant. He was a ruler of great ability, and Athens prospered under his sway. He encouraged art and literature, and it was in his time that the two great Homeric Epics were edited by scholars into the form which they have retained ever since. All educated Greeks knew their Homer almost as Britons know their Bible; but before the time of Pisistratus there was, so to speak, no authorised version. But, however prosperous Athens might be, political liberty and government by a despot cannot exist together; and the Athenian passion for political liberty was strong. When Pisistratus died, his son Hippias succeeded in retaining the despotism, with the support of his brother Hipparchus. Hipparchus was assassinated, on account of a purely personal quarrel, by Harmodius and Aristogiton, who were subsequently honoured very undeservedly as the liberators of their country. It was not, in fact, till some years later that the Athenians succeeded in expelling Hippias in 510 B.C. The constitution of Solon was restored in a modified form by Cleisthenes. Hippias himself took refuge in Asia Minor, where he intrigued to obtain help in recovering the despotism.

Six years after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, three other kings having ascended the throne during this interval, Nabonidus became King of Babylon. Nabonidus was an enthusiastic antiquary and scholar, to whom historians are considerably indebted; but he left the care of his empire to his son Belshazzar, who is spoken of in the Bible as if he had been actually king. About the same time Astyages ascended the Median throne, and Croesus was King of Lydia.

Now there appeared in Persia a great captain named Cyrus, who claimed, probably without justification, that he belonged to the royal family of Media. Romantic legends cling about the story of his birth and upbringing, and all tradition presents him as of an heroic character, the ideal of a chivalrous warrior. Certainly he must have been a man of great qualities. At any rate, Cyrus, with the help

of the Persian nobility, and aided by a conspiracy among the Medes, overthrew the ruling Median dynasty, and made himself monarch of all Media. A monarchy so won could only be maintained by continuous conquests; and while Nabonidus of Babylon was dreaming of inscriptions, Cyrus the Persian turned his arms against the monarch of Lydia, whom he conquered, and whose territory he annexed. Croesus had realised his danger, and attempted to gather allies to check the Median advance; but he was already overthrown before the allies were ready to come to his help. Then Cyrus turned on Babylon, and captured the great city by a remarkable **Fall of** engineering feat. Babylon was protected by the **Babylon.** Euphrates; but Cyrus, by a system of canals, diverted the course of the river, and so was able to enter the city. Its capture, which the Bible narrative attributes by an error to Darius, one of the successors of Cyrus, made him master of the whole Babylonian Empire.

Cyrus himself was slain while leading a great expedition against the barbarian tribes on the east of the Caspian Sea, who were included in the general name of Scythian, applied by the Greeks to all the nomadic hordes who dwelt beyond civilised regions; some of which were probably Slavonic Aryans, while others were of those Mongolian races which later times have named Tartars or Turks.

Cyrus was succeeded by his son Cambyses. Cambyses left the Scythians alone, having found a pretext for invading the great southern empire of Egypt. Here for the **Cambyses** last forty years there had ruled a usurper whom **conquers** the Greeks called Amasis, to whom Croesus had **Egypt.** appealed in vain for aid against Cyrus. His successor Psammetichus had been on the throne only a few months, when the invader arrived and crushed his armies in one great battle which laid all Egypt at his mercy. Thus the Persian Cambyses was lord of the whole civilised world in Asia and Africa, except the comparatively remote state of Carthage.

The reign of Cambyses was brief. On his death the Imperial throne was captured by an impostor professing to be Smerdis,

the younger son of Cyrus, who had in fact been murdered. The false Smerdis was really a Babylonian, who intended to restore the Babylonian supremacy in the new empire.

Darius. But the imposture was discovered, and a conspiracy among the Median and Persian nobility placed on the throne one of their own number, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who as a matter of course claimed kinship with Cyrus, of whom there were now no actual descendants.

Darius is to be regarded as the organiser of the Persian Empire, in which the Persian and Median nobility were the dominant section. Nevertheless, the civilisation of the empire continued to be essentially of the same type as before the domination of these Aryan races.

It does not, in fact, appear that any great changes in the actual organisation were made by Darius; rather, he extended over

The new Persian Empire. the whole empire the system which had prevailed for centuries in the various Mesopotamian Empires.

The whole was divided up into great districts called Satrapies, each under its own Satrap, a title which may be rendered as Lieutenant-governor. It was the Satrap's business to administer the affairs of his province, so that he supplied the Imperial Treasury with the tribute required, and with the troops

Greek Subjects of Persia. which might be demanded. The divisions of his province were managed by a local government, after their own fashion; and thus we find Asia

Minor distributed into four or five Satrapies, where the separate Greek cities were in the hands of despots who looked to the Satrap to keep them secure. Owing to the fact that Asia Minor was now for the first time brought under this general system, the Greeks credited Darius with having invented the system itself. It is probable that otherwise the main change lay in the favour shown to the Persian and Median nobility in the distribution of power and office.

Darius, like his predecessors, set about extending his dominions, and seems to have obtained some recognition of his

Darius in Europe. authority even from Indian princes. He invaded Europe by way of the Hellespont, marching northward and crossing the Danube; on this expedition he pene-

trated into Scythia, where the inhabitants enticed him farther into the interior, but never offered battle; and his army narrowly escaped annihilation. How he fared when he turned his arms against the Greeks we shall see in the next chapter.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK I. TO 500 B.C.

GUIDING DATES

Dates generally inferred.

Early civilisations in Egypt and in Sumer	5000-4000
<u>Egyptian Fourth Dynasty</u> (Pyramid-builders)	4000-3500
Beginnings of China	3000
<u>Sargon of Akkad</u>	2700
First Aryan Migrations	2500
<u>Second Semitic Migration</u> (Canaanite) begins	2200
<u>Hammurabi at Babylon</u>	2000
<u>Hyksos conquest of Egypt</u>	1800
Appearance of Hittites	1800
<u>Kassite dynasty begins at</u> <u>Babylon</u>	1800

Dates approximately known.

Third Semitic Migration (Aramaean) begins	1600
Hyksos expelled from Egypt	1580
<u>Rise of Assyria</u>	1550
<u>Thothmes III. in Egypt</u>	1470
<u>Tell el-Amarna Letters</u>	1380
<u>Rameses II. in Egypt</u>	1300
<u>Menepthah</u> <u>Cretan civilisation</u> <u>Hellenic Sea-rovers</u> }	1250
<u>Nebuchadnezzar I.</u>	1200
<u>Mycenaean and Trojan</u> <u>civilisation</u>	1100

<u>Tiglath-pileser I.</u>	1100
<u>The Hebrew kingdom</u> <u>Rise of Tyre and Damascus</u> }	1100
<u>Dorian Migration</u>	1000
<u>Code of Manu in India</u>	1000
<u>Shishak</u>	930
<u>Ashurnasirpal</u>	885
<u>Shalmaneser II.</u>	860
<u>Carthage founded circa</u>	800
<u>Rome founded (traditionally)</u>	753
<u>Greek Colonial expansion,</u> <u>from circa</u>	750
<u>Tiglath-pileser IV.</u>	745
<u>Fall of Damascus</u>	731
<u>Shalmaneser IV.</u>	727
<u>Sargon II.</u>	722
<u>Sennacherib</u>	705
<u>Tirhakah in Egypt</u>	670
<u>Ashurbanipal (Sardanapa-</u> <u>lus)</u>	668
<u>The Cimmerian incursion</u>	668
<u>Psammetichus</u>	660
<u>Rise of Lydia and Media</u>	660
<u>Overthrow of Assyria by</u> <u>Cyaxares and Nabopolas-</u> <u>sar; new Chaldaean and</u> <u>Median Empires</u>	607
<u>Nebuchadnezzar II.</u>	605
<u>Buddha in India, circa</u>	600
<u>Croesus in Lydia</u>	560

<u>Cyrus the Persian in Media</u>	550	<u>Darius, King of Persia</u>	521
Confucius born in China	551	<u>Kings expelled from Rome</u>	509
<u>Conquest of Lydia</u>	546	Tyrants expelled from	
<u>Fall of Babylon</u>	539	Athens	510
<u>Cambyses conquers Egypt</u>	525	<u>The Ionic Revolt</u>	500

LEADING NAMES

Cheops — Sargon — Hammurabi — Aahmes — Amenhotep IV.—
Thothmes III.—Rameses II.—Rameses III.—Nebuchadnezzar I.—
David — Manu — Ashurnasirpal — Ben-hadad — Romulus — Tiglath-
pileser IV.—Sennacherib—Tirhakah—Psammetichus—Sardanapalus
—Cyaxares—Nabopolassar—Nebuchadnezzar II.—Croesus—Naboni-
dus — Cyrus — Cambyses — Darius—Solon— Pisistratus — Hippias —
Buddha—Confucius.

NOTES

Races. (1) Among the divisions of mankind, three main stocks are definitely marked out from each other and from the rest : the Semitic, the Negro, and the Aryan. The Aryan stock has two Asiatic branches, the Indian and the Persian ; and five main European branches, appearing historically in order—Hellenic, Italian, Celtic, Teutonic, Slavonic. (2) A fourth pre-Semitic and pre-Aryan stock may have covered the whole region encircling the Mediterranean, but as to this we can only make more or less plausible guesses. But it is clear that both Semites and Aryans, wherever they went, found peoples before them who were certainly not negroes. The most prominent subdivisions of these would be the Egyptians, the Libyans or Berbers in North Africa, the Iberians in Western Europe, and the Etruscans in Italy. Probably, though by no means certainly, the earliest organised civilisations known in Greece and Asia Minor should be connected with this group. (3) The term Mongolian is unfortunately used in a very confused way, both (*a*) for one particular branch of a larger group of races (*b*) to which the same name is given, and for (*c*) all the races the formation of whose skulls have certain characteristics, whether pre-Aryan and pre-Semitic, or post-Aryan and post-Semitic. Now if we use the term in the second of these senses, we find included under it (*a*) the Chinese proper, who had probably established a civilisation in the far east five or six thousand years ago ; and probably the Sumerians ; (*b*) Nomadic races inhabiting Central Asia which from time to time have hurled themselves against the civilised states, after the Aryan migrations were ended ; these would include the Huns, the Avars, the Magyars, and the Bulgarians, who successively burst

into Europe ; the Turks, of whom the Seljuks and Ottomans were only branches ; and the Mughals (Mongols, Moguls) and Manchus ; (γ) probably Japanese and Malays ; (δ) possibly, American races. (4) The primitive races of the Indian peninsula are commonly grouped as Dravidian ; these with the peoples of the Eastern Archipelago are sometimes called Negroid, as having signs of kinship with the pure negroes of Africa. (5) Before any of the races above enumerated appeared, there seem to have been human races scattered over Africa, Southern Asia, the Eastern Archipelago, and Australia, which never attained any appreciable degree of civilisation, and were generally exterminated, but survived here and there ; as the Pygmy tribes and Bushmen in Africa, and the aborigines of Australia and Tasmania. (6) Crosses between conquering and conquered races produced other races which cannot be definitely classified with any of the above groups.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO CHAPTERS II. AND III

The development of several peoples prior to 500 B.C. has been omitted in these chapters, as the account of them will come more conveniently in chapters where their history can be given consecutively ; as of Rome in Chapter VI. and of India in Chapter XXIII. But for the sake of chronology, certain points may here be noted.

China. The legendary history of China, with a probable basis of truth, begins nearly 3000 years B.C. It is not unlikely that the Chinese migrated eastwards, parting from the Sumerians some hundreds of years earlier. The first historical dynasty begins in 2356 B.C., according to the Chinese compilations ; and three dynasties are enumerated between 2205 B.C. and 250 B.C. The father of Chinese History and Moral Philosophy, Kung-fu-tse or Confucius, lived in the sixth century B.C.

India. The Aryan invasion probably entered the Punjab not later than 2000 B.C., and had completely mastered the whole of Northern India, and a great part of the south before 1000 B.C. This may be taken as approximately the date of the Code of Manu, the Brahmin Book of the Law, which shows the organisation of society, government, and religion. This became much modified later, the teaching of Gautama or Buddha displacing the earlier doctrines and changing the system, probably during the sixth century B.C. Buddhist doctrines spread all over the far east. Darius of Persia seems to have obtained tribute from the Punjab.

Italy. The Aryans, entering Italy about 1000 B.C., or earlier, found the Etruscan civilisation before them. They are early distinguishable in two branches, the Latin and Sabellian. The Latins established cities in Latium, forming a league, of which Rome became the head. Rome, according to tradition, was founded by Romulus in 753 B.C., and was ruled over by seven successive kings, of whom the last was expelled in 509 B.C., when the Roman Republic was established.

BOOK II
THE GLORY OF GREECE
AND THE RISE OF ROME

CHAPTER IV

ATHENS AND SPARTA

IT is about the beginning of the fifth century B.C. that we may claim to find ourselves in the full light of history. We have

1. The Persian War : come to the time when a great writer, Herodotus, set himself to write a story of the contest between the Greeks and the Persians whom they called barbarians. Herodotus was not himself an eye-witness of the events which he described, but he got his information from people who had been eye-witnesses. He travelled to an immense number of cities, and learnt everything that he could about them ; and from this time there were always people who were writing down records of what they saw and heard, so that the authors of the books which have survived always had plenty of sources of information, even though they might not always be particularly skilful in judging how much of what they were told was true and how much was not.

About the year 500, then, the Persians were lords of all Western Asia, including the Greek cities of Asia Minor, which had been under the rule of the Lydian King Croesus. **The Ionic Revolt.** But the Greek cities on the other side of the Aegean Sea, and some of the islands, were independent. The power of the 'Great King,' as the Persian monarch was called, did not extend into Europe. Just at this time some of the Greek cities in Asia Minor revolted against the rule of the provincial governor or Satrap, who was set over them ; and they called upon their kinsmen from the other side of the sea to come and help them. A band of Athenians did go and take a part in the revolt, though they were recalled to Athens before the end of the contest, and the revolt was put down.

Now King Darius was very wroth when he began to be aware that these insignificant Greek cities were making light of his power ; and when he had leisure, he listened to the complaints of Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, and sent a very great army, intending to set up Hippias as despot again at Athens, **Marathon,** and to order the other Greek cities to pay tribute. **490 B.C.**

But the Greek states in their own wars with each other had learnt to fight under discipline. No one else was ready to come to the help of the Athenians except the valiant folk of the little city of Plataea, which lay not many miles distant. Nevertheless the Athenians resolved to do battle for their freedom, and their army marched out to meet the great host of the Persians, where—

‘ The mountains look on Marathon
And Marathon looks on the sea.’

The Persian troops were ten to one—we cannot be very sure of the exact numbers—and they were reputed to be invincible soldiers, since they had overthrown Lydia and Babylon and Egypt. Nevertheless, the Greeks charged against them across the plain, shattered their ranks, and drove them down to their ships with a great slaughter ; indeed, they were hard put to it to escape at all.

King Darius would have sent another army against the Greeks, but there was a revolt in Egypt against the Persian sway which delayed matters. So it was not till ten years after the Athenians had won the glorious victory of Marathon, when Darius was dead, that his son Xerxes raised a **2. The great Invasion,** gigantic armament to overwhelm the Greeks. For **480 B.C.** though Sparta and the rest had left Athens to fight by herself, they had agreed that they would pay no tribute to Persia. In the meantime a very clever Athenian named Themistocles had become the leading statesman at Athens, and by his advice the Athenians had been working hard to build and to train a very powerful navy. For Themistocles saw that the Greek state which had the strongest navy was almost certain to become the leader of the cities which stood on the sea, both among the islands and on the mainland. Also he saw that if the Greek fleets could defeat the Persian fleets on the seas, the Persians

would find it very difficult to keep large armies in Europe, seeing that their only road into Europe lay across the straits called the Hellespont, which we call the Dardanelles.

Never had there been seen in the world an army and a fleet so huge as those which Xerxes gathered for the smiting of the Greeks. A great bridge of boats was built across the Hellespont for the army to march over. This time the Greeks **The Defence of Greece.** of the south were united. The mountains made it impossible for the Persian host to get into Greece except by way of certain passes. The furthest north was the pass of Tempe in Thessaly. Further south came the pass of Thermopylae. If the Persians got through Thermopylae, the next place at which they could be stopped was the Isthmus of Corinth; and there was always a danger that whatever spot the Greeks chose to block the advance of the great land army, the Persian fleet might be able to effect a landing so as to take them in the rear. The Greeks then collected a very powerful fleet; but first they had to give up the idea of protecting Thessaly, because they found that there were passes by which the Persians would be able to get round and attack their rear at Tempe. So a force under a Spartan King Leonidas was sent to hold the narrow pass of Thermopylae, where a very small body of men could easily keep an immense number of enemies at bay. Meanwhile, most of the Peloponnesian armies were gathering to guard the Isthmus of Corinth, or were on board the fleet. The fleet lay at Artemisium on the north of Euboea, where it met the Persian fleets and beat them off. But in the meantime Leonidas found that there was another pass by which the Persians could get round on his rear, so that his little army was quite certain to be crushed. Therefore, he sent away all who did not **Thermopylae.** choose rather to remain and die gloriously. Three hundred Spartans and seven hundred men of Thespiæ stood fast. They held the pass against the Persian attack till they learnt that another column had made its way round to their rear. Then they marched out of the pass, and fell upon the countless hosts in the open ground, where after a mighty slaughter they were cut to pieces. So now the whole country lay open to the invaders as far as the Isthmus of Corinth, and the Greek fleet drew back to

the bay of the Salamis. The city of Athens was seized by the Persians, but the Athenian people were on board the fleet.

The Peloponnesians now wished for nothing but to keep the Persians out of the Peloponnesus ; but Themistocles saw that if a great victory could be won over the Persian navy **Salamis.** their army would become much less dangerous, and might be driven out of Greece altogether. He succeeded in keeping the Greek fleets together, and forcing on the great sea fight of Salamis, which, mainly through the seamanship and the valour of the Athenians, ended in the utter destruction of the Persian fleet ; a destruction which King Xerxes himself witnessed from the shore.

Never had the forces of the great king met with a disaster so overwhelming. The countless myriads of his army were in Greece, cut off from all their resources. There was nothing for it but to retreat before the Greek fleet could sail for the Hellespont and cut off his return. Xerxes and most of his army fled, though a sufficiently huge army—three hundred thousand of the best troops—remained behind in hopes that they might complete the conquest after all. But Marathon and Ther- **Plataea,** mopylae and Salamis had taught the Greeks what **479 B.C.** they could do, and in the next year that Persian army was shattered at the battle of Plataea. From that time the Persian kings never again dreamed of conquering the Greeks. A hundred and fifty years later the Greeks had shattered the Persian Empire itself, and the sway of Greek conquerors began over all Western Asia.

Now it must be remembered that the race whom we call Greeks because the Romans gave them that name were not merely the inhabitants of the Grecian peninsula, or Greece, or even of the islands and coasts of the Aegean Sea. Their colonies had spread far to the west ; Sicily was almost as Greek as Greece itself, and they had many flourishing and prosperous cities or states in Southern Italy. The Greeks who were fighting the Persians called upon the Greeks of Sicily to **The Western** come to their aid ; but at this very time the Sicilian **Greeks.** Greeks had another enemy to fight, or rather two enemies—the Carthaginians and the Etruscans, neither of them Aryan peoples.

In fact, this was a very critical time in the world's history, because it was the one moment when there was a very great danger that the civilised Aryan peoples would be brought into subjection by the non-Aryan races, whereby the progress of the world would have been very much checked. It is true indeed that the Persians and Medes were actually Aryans, but it is also true that their civilisation was borrowed from that of the Semites and other non-Aryan races of Asia; it was what we call an oriental civilisation, as opposed to the western civilisation of Greeks and

Romans. Carthage was a maritime state, originally
Carthage. a colony of the Semitic Phoenicians; the greatest of the sea-going races of antiquity, in some respects more so even than the Greeks. They were a commercial people, and their weakness lay partly in the fact that their fighting forces were composed largely either of subject peoples or of allies who would serve for pay. Happily their attempt to make themselves masters of Sicily, in alliance with the Etruscans who were then the most powerful people in Italy, failed like the attempt of Xerxes to conquer the Greeks. They were overthrown at the

battle of Himera, which took place on the same day
Himera,
480 B.C. as the battle of Salamis. The Latin peoples of Italy were left under the leadership of Rome to break up the Etruscan power and establish a Latin supremacy in the Italian peninsula.

We turn back then to the history of Greece itself which centres in the history of Athens. We have seen how in the short period of eleven years from 490 B.C. to 479 B.C. the decisive answer had been given to the question whether an
3. The Hel- oriental civilisation should overwhelm that higher
lenic World. civilisation called the Hellenic, because the Grecian peoples named themselves not Greeks but Hellenes. The Hellenes were not to fall under Asiatic dominion, but would a Hellenic Empire now arise which should bring the world under its sway? If a Hellenic nation had existed, it is quite certain that after the crushing defeats inflicted on the oriental invader that nation would have set about the subjection of the Persian Empire. The Hellenes had learnt the immense superiority of their own efficiency in warfare over that of the

Asiatics. The separate states showed that they possessed the power of organisation in a high degree. They were about to display an intellectual brilliancy never equalled elsewhere. There was among them no lack of desire for conquest. Nevertheless, as an actual fact, they did not achieve conquest until Alexander the Great led them to overthrow a later Darius; and almost from the moment of Alexander's death the vast dominion he had conquered ceased to be an empire.

The reason of this failure is that the Greeks never combined to form one nation. Every great city with its outlying territories, and perhaps some subject towns, formed a separate state and had its own system of government, **Want of Unity.** its own ambitions, and its own rivalries with its neighbours. All recognised an entire distinction between Hellenes and non-Hellenes, to whom they gave the indiscriminate name of 'barbarians.' They spoke the same language, with no greater differences than those between the dialects of Yorkshire and Somerset. They worshipped the same gods, with the same ritual. Delphi with its temple and its oracle sacred to Apollo had the same supreme sanctity for all of them. But there their unity ended. They were capable of some degree of united action against the onslaughts of the barbarian when each individual state felt that it must help to shield its neighbour from destruction lest its own doom should be sealed; but none was willing to move a single step for its neighbour's glorification, still less to submit itself to its neighbour's dictation. It was only in the moment of extreme emergency that individual rivalries and jealousies were forced into the background, and even then they had come near to producing disaster.

A true unity could have been reached only by the voluntary subordination of all to a single central authority voluntarily created by common consent, but such a voluntary **No State Supreme.** union was never fully realised in the ancient world. The next possibility was that a single state should establish a supremacy so marked that the rest would acquiesce in its leadership. That did happen for a very short time in the days of Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander the Great.

Even then the supremacy was not sufficiently established to become permanent, and even the semblance of unity vanished when the supremacy broke down. In one sense, the history of Greece from the expulsion of the Persians to the destruction of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great is the story of the attempts made by successive states to establish their own supremacy among the Hellenes, and of the breakdown of every such attempt.

A Hellenic Empire then was never established, because the unity of the Hellenic nation was never established. Nevertheless, one Greek state has exercised a supreme influence on the world, because it brought forth itself all that was best, the fine flower of Hellenic civilisation. Athens herself could not have done what she did had she not been in the centre of Hellenic life. There were great Greeks who were not Athenians, but they would have been lesser men if they had not come in contact with Athens. And in the Greek states generally there was a fullness, a richness, a variety, and a vigour of life, physical and intellectual, which has never been surpassed.

Politically, the great rival of Athens was Sparta, and those two states stand in other respects in the most marked contrast to each other. Sparta or Lacedaemon was the chief state of the Dorian division of the Hellenes. It was the typical state which set before itself an ideal of military perfection, which trained its citizens primarily to be soldiers, which treated dauntless courage and endurance as the first of all the virtues. But the full citizens, the true Spartans, were only a small number among the population of Lacedaemon; and it was to these that the special Spartan training was confined. They formed an aristocracy in whose hands lay the whole control of the state; although from among their numbers the officers were chosen in a way which prevented the same individuals or the same families from remaining in power for any length of time. Sparta was the one state in which the old kingship had not been abolished, but had the curious modification that there were two kings; both ruling by hereditary right, but having only very limited powers. In short, the government

of Sparta was that of a military oligarchy, while its army was reputed to be much stronger than that of any other Greek state.

Athens on the other hand was the typical democracy, a state governed by the popular will. There was a general assembly which every free citizen was entitled to attend, and **Democratic** the principal officers of the state were appointed **Athens.**

annually by a popular vote. We can more easily realise the difference between a Greek state and any modern state, when we are reminded first that every free citizen of Athens was a voter, and secondly that all the voters could be assembled in a space where they were at any rate supposed to be able to hear the words of a single orator. But while the Spartans proved their splendid valour and discipline as soldiers by such feats as the great fight at Thermopylae, the victory of the Athenians at Marathon had shown the mettle of their soldiers; and at Salamis they had proved their supremacy at sea over all rivals. Athens was primarily a sea-power as Sparta was primarily a land-power; and after the rout of the Persians, it was as natural that the maritime cities should look to Athens as their chief, as that the inland states should look to Sparta **Points of** for leadership. Another point in their rivalry **Contrast.**

which requires to be noticed is this: in most of the Greek states, whether they happened to be under an oligarchical or a democratic form of government, there existed a faction which was eager to replace the existing form of government by the other. The democratic party was always inclined to seek alliance with democratic Athens, and the oligarchical party to seek alliance with the oligarchy of Sparta.

One more point of contrast between Athens and Sparta is to be noted. Sparta, as we saw, subordinated every other aim to the perfecting of her military organisation. The Athenians on the contrary strove with equal eagerness to develop every kind of activity, to produce and to enjoy every kind of beauty, not suffering the pursuit of one aim to cramp or hinder them in the pursuit of the rest. Hence, while Sparta gave the world no poet, no philosopher, no writer and no artist, Athens produced within the short term of one hundred and fifty years a literature and an art unmatched in the world's history.

In the first hour of triumph there was a strong disposition on the part of the Greeks to follow up the victory, and carry the war into the dominions of the great king. During the war Athens had played the most heroic part among all the Greek states, but she had also suffered the most. Her territory had been ravaged, her city and its fortifications had been wasted by the invader. Inspired by the energy of Themistocles, the Athenians rebuilt and refortified their city and port, before the Spartans, who would have liked to keep the rival city open to attack, discovered what was going on. Sparta, which had always been recognised as a sort of president in the league of the Hellenes, still supplied the Greeks with a leader in the person of Pausanias, who had held the command at Plataea. In a short time, however, it became apparent that Pausanias was seeking his own personal aggrandisement. A change became necessary. The war was still a naval war, and it was obvious that the Athenians were entitled to the leadership by the brilliant services which their fleet had rendered. The Spartans were not adepts at maritime warfare, and they assented to the principle that Athens should be recognised as the leader by sea while Sparta remained the leader by land.

A League then was formed which included nearly all the Greek maritime states and islands in the Aegean Sea. The purpose of the League was to secure the liberty of every Greek state. Athens was the presiding state of the League; and Delos, the island sacred to Apollo, was the treasurer state which gave its name to the League. Each of the states which joined it was bound to supply ships and men at a fixed rate for the united navy, or if it failed to do so, to provide money that the deficiency might be supplied from elsewhere. The Athenians would have the command of the united navy. This arrangement was made chiefly owing to the confidence felt by every one in the great Athenian Aristides, who was called The Just. Afterwards, the great power of Athens grew out of this League in this way. The states belonging to this League who were less energetic and adventurous preferred to pay for ships and men instead of themselves providing them. Athens was always ready to supply the extra

ships and men which were thus paid for, and thus the Athenian ships multiplied until Athens became incomparably the strongest of the states by sea. That is to say, whenever any of the states chose to substitute money payment for naval service, the payment really went to increase the Athenian navy. We can easily see how the habit of making a money payment was gradually turned into the payment of a tribute, so that the Delian League ceased to be a confederacy or union of states free and equal except for differences in their size and wealth, and became instead a group of states of which only a few remained independent, while the majority were tributaries and practically subjects of Athens.

**Increasing
Power of
Athens.**

There were two things which prevented Sparta from interfering while the Athenian power was growing in this way. One was the revolt of the Helots or slave population of the Spartan state, who were kept in a cruel subjection by the ruling race; the other was that the great city of Thebes, an ancient rival of Athens, had been weakened and punished for deserting the Greek cause and helping the Persians; whereas Plataea and Thespieae, both friendly to Athens, had displayed distinguished bravery, and had been deservedly strengthened.

About twenty years after the expulsion of the Persians, the great Athenian statesman Pericles had become the leading man in the state, and remained in that position—although of course he had powerful rivals—for thirty years. It was the deliberate aim of Pericles to make Athens the head of the Greek world, the most powerful state politically, the most splendid, and the most cultivated. In his time were erected at Athens some of the most beautiful buildings ever seen, adorned with the most exquisite sculptures and statuary. Most notable was the Parthenon, the work of the sculptor and architect, Phidias. The Greek drama achieved its greatest glory with the last tragedies of Aeschylus, and the great works of Sophocles and Euripides. It was about the time of the death of Pericles that Aristophanes, the first of comedians, began to write.

Athens had extended her power among the Greek states

partly by the development of the tributary system, partly by the punishments inflicted on the cities which endeavoured to break away from her ascendancy, and partly by establishing colonies of her own in new territories, and within the territories confiscated from rebellious states. She grew so strong that her supremacy was hardly shaken by the total annihilation of a large Athenian army and fleet, which had been sent to help Egypt in a revolt from the Persian dominion. After this, however, Greek hostilities against Persia ceased. Athenian ascendancy was not producing Greek unity. Within the League, what had once been a leadership acknowledged as hers by moral right, in the struggle with the barbarians, had been turned into a sort of despotism of which the first object appeared to be the individual aggrandisement of Athens. Outside the confederacy, every state was watching the aggressive policy of Athens with jealousy and alarm. All the states which were anxious to check her power looked to Sparta as their chief, and it was certain that before long a determined attempt would be made to overthrow the Athenian Empire.

At last a Congress was held of the states who were opposed to Athens, including nearly all the principal cities on the mainland where Athens had hardly extended her sway. The Congress resolved to call upon Athens to liberate the subject states and to banish Pericles, who was held responsible for her aggressive policy. Athens refused to accede to the demands, and so began the famous Peloponnesian War, which continued for nearly thirty years. We have a very full record of most of the war from the great Athenian historian Thucydides. To the Greeks themselves this war, which was really a struggle for supremacy among the Greeks between Greek states, appeared to be of immense importance; of more importance even than the Persian War, which had been settled in half a dozen engagements, with the loss of comparatively few Greek lives. To the history of the world at large, it mattered very much more whether the Greek civilisation should be swamped by the oriental, than whether one or another Greek city should hold the first place among the

5. Peloponnesian War, 431-404 B.C.

Hellenes. The Peloponnesian War was really a Civil War. It might have changed the history of the world if it had ended in such a decisive triumph for Athens as would have enabled her to consolidate a Greek nation in the same sort of way that Rome consolidated her power in Italy. It is just possible that the triumph of Athens might have enabled her to achieve such a result, or that she might gradually have achieved it if there had been no war. But she was defeated, and Sparta was wholly incapable of carrying out such a policy; the importance of the Peloponnesian War lies in the fact that it made quite impossible a turn of events which at best was improbable.

The policy of Pericles was to obtain an overwhelming maritime supremacy, which should give Athens complete control of the islands, and enable her to raid the territories of her enemies by descents on their coasts at her own convenience. Her wealth was not derived from the soil of Attica; the city itself, the great port of Piræus, and the communications with the port, were impregnable. The great statesman himself died before the war had been long in progress, but during its early years his system was adhered to. There were two memorable episodes of this period: one was a terrific visitation of the plague, which fell upon Athens in 430 B.C., the second year of the war. The second was the brilliant defence of the little city of Plataea, which was besieged by the allies, really for refusing to desert its friend and neighbour. The Athenians, however, were unable to raise the siege, and in spite of its valorous defence, the little city was finally forced to surrender, and was destroyed. In the seventh year of the war the Athenians captured a position on the Peloponnesian coast, and achieved the unique feat of compelling a body of Spartan troops to surrender. After ten years of war a peace was made, and for some time afterwards there were no hostilities between Athens and Sparta, though a great deal of intriguing and fighting went on among the various states, in which both Sparta and Athens were embroiled.

**Athenian
Successes,
431-421 B.C.**

So far the attempt to overthrow Athens had been emphatically

a failure, and her ambitions had become larger. Unhappily, she found an excuse for sending a mighty naval expedition against Syracuse in Sicily. While this great Athenian force was locked up before Syracuse, Sparta again declared war. At the end of two years the Sicilian expedition terminated in complete disaster; the army and fleet engaged upon it were annihilated.

Nevertheless, Athens was not yet beaten; her subjects and so-called allies revolted one after another, and still her arms were repeatedly victorious. The city itself was torn with dissensions: the democracy was overthrown and an oligarchy set up; the oligarchy in turn was overthrown and the democracy restored. At last, however, the Lacedaemonian commander Lysander, owing to extraordinary negligence on the part of the Athenian sailors and officers, succeeded in capturing a fleet of 170 Athenian vessels at Aegospotami. This was decisive; almost all the allies of the Athenians declared for Sparta. All the Athenian supplies were cut off; Athens herself was blockaded, and was at last starved into submission; her fleet was surrendered and her fortifications demolished. The government of the city was placed in the hands of a committee of thirty, known to history as the thirty tyrants. Their rule was brought to an end within the year, and the old democracy was restored. The power of Athens, however, was completely ruined.

Sparta was now the undisputed mistress, and her supremacy was viewed for good reasons with greater alarm than that of Athens had been. From the moment of her triumph Sparta degenerated.

During the latter years of the Peloponnesian War, the Persian Satraps of Asia Minor had entered into active relations with various intriguers, on the side sometimes of one of the belligerents, sometimes of the other. Practically, however, they had contented themselves with supplying money. Just when the war finished a Persian prince named Cyrus resolved to make a bid for the Persian throne; his attempt failed; but it is interesting, because the army which he led into the interior included a division of Greek volunteers

or mercenaries, who, after the death of Cyrus, had to fight their way across the mountains to the Black Sea and get back to the west coast of Asia Minor. This retreat of the 10,000 has been made famous by the account of it written by Xenophon.

The Spartan King Agesilaus began a series of campaigns against the Persians in Asia Minor. He was recalled, however, to Europe, where the Spartan supremacy was **Spartan** being challenged; a disaster befell her arms in a **Supremacy**. quarrel with Thebes, and a great league was immediately formed against her. Agesilaus, returning by land from Asia Minor, was met by the allies at Coronea, where he was victorious. But in the meanwhile the fleet which had been intended to co-operate in the Asiatic campaign was shattered at the battle of Cnidus, and the Spartan maritime power, so recently acquired, was destroyed.

At this stage, then, Sparta seems to have given up the large plans of empire which Agesilaus had probably formed. A peace was made with Persia called the peace of Antalcidas, which left the great king in possession of all the Greek cities of Asia. But the Spartans were all the more determined to assert their supremacy in Greece itself, and for a time they **Theban** were able to do so effectively. The successful **Supremacy**. challenge, however, this time was to come from Thebes. Here the Spartans had established an oligarchical government friendly to themselves. A sudden revolution overthrew the government, and gave the Thebans for their actual leader the heroic Epaminondas. Now, practically single-handed, Thebes challenged the might of Sparta, and the genius of Epaminondas won for her a decisive victory at Leuctra. During the life of that great man, Thebes became definitely the most powerful of the Greek states. The cities and districts which had been subject to Sparta were freed from her yoke, and it was not till after the death of Epaminondas that the Theban ascendancy broke down. That great leader fell at the battle of **Epaminondas**. Mantinea. Perhaps there was no one among all the Greeks who inspired on every hand such unqualified admiration alike for his talents and his virtues. He is reputed to have been the first master of the art of war who adopted the

method of hurling his troops in force against a particular point in the enemies' position so as to pierce the line and roll it up.

From this time no single city claimed supremacy among the Greeks, but a new power appeared upon the scene which secured the leadership. On the north of Thessaly lay the kingdom of Macedon, whose princes claimed that they were of Dorian descent, though the Hellenes of the south did not recognise the people of Macedonia as pure Hellenes. They had lacked the high political organisation which characterised the city states, but Macedonia was a large country; and when a king should arise who had the skill to organise it for military purposes, and should enter the arena of Greek politics, Macedon was assured of predominance after the failure of any large group of Greek states to combine in forming a united nation. After the death of Epaminondas, Thebes could not succeed where Athens and Sparta had failed. It was at this juncture that Macedon fell under the sway of a man who was precisely fitted to achieve for Macedon the leadership of the Greeks. There had been kings of capacity in Macedon before Philip, and for building up an army Philip had the foundations already provided. He perfected that army as an instrument of war, and he was himself a general of the highest ability; an ability inherited in an even higher degree by his son Alexander. But Philip was also an extremely shrewd diplomatist, who could conceal his own designs while penetrating those of his neighbours. He was unscrupulous, but was quite alive to the advantages of making a show of moral virtue which would cloak his unscrupulousness; and he had no hesitation in playing upon the moral weakness of others, and in employing bribery to avoid an unnecessary expenditure of physical force. The feuds of the Greek states gave him leisure to organise his power, and to bring under his own sway the Greek colonies on the coast of Macedonia and the peninsula of Chalcidice. Without deliberately setting himself to conquer the Greeks at first, he succeeded in impressing on them the fact that his power was exceedingly formidable; in inducing them to recognise Macedon as one of the states of Hellas; and finally, in persuading the Greek states in general

to nominate him as general-in-chief, to organise and conduct a great war of the Hellenes against the Persian Empire.

Athens had in the meantime recovered something of her former prosperity, though nothing approaching her old ascendancy. Athens proved herself the most serious obstacle in Philip's progress, because in Athens the party which was headed by the great orator Demosthenes saw that Philip was aiming at empire, and opposed

his aims with all his might. The party was patriotically opposed to a Macedonian supremacy, but a Macedonian supremacy was now the only possible means to the formation of a strong Greek federation; and this was an idea which now was, in fact, gaining ground. The idea of an anti-Persian union was making headway, and the preference of Demosthenes for a Persian alliance rather than a Macedonian ascendancy probably accounted in part for the strength of the party opposed to him. But Philip's bribes, direct or indirect, probably counted for more in securing him adherents. Philip, however, did not achieve his object without an Athenian war, in which the most important single engagement was the battle of

Chaeronea, in which the young prince Alexander, a boy of sixteen, greatly distinguished himself. The resistance of the Greek states which supported Athens was steadily overcome, and so at last Philip was recognised as the leader of the Greeks. He at once set about organising the projected war against Persia, though it is probable that his real intention was to use that war as a pretext for consolidating for himself a Greek dominion. But whatever his personal intentions may have been, they were frustrated by the hand of an assassin in 336 B.C.

CHAPTER V

THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

ALEXANDER, the heir of Philip, was only twenty when his father was killed. The accession of so young a ruler might easily have led to a complete overturn of the Macedonian power. The anti-Macedonians attempted to use the opportunity. The promptitude of Alexander's action, however, averted the immediate danger. He secured his own recognition as his father's successor in the captaincy of the Greek forces. The great expedition to Asia was delayed by disturbances beyond the Macedonian border in Thrace, and Alexander's absence there again offered opportunity for revolt against the new ascendancy. Again the swiftness of the young king's movements crushed the insurrection.

Alexander must have prepared his plan of operations with extreme thoroughness. Two years after his accession he had crossed over into Asia Minor with an army of some 35,000 men to conquer an empire which extended from the mountains of Central Asia on the east to Egypt on the west. The character of the Persian Empire had not changed. It was not unlike that of the Moguls in India when the British Conquest began, though the authority of the Great King was much greater than that of the later Moguls. The empire was divided into provinces ruled over by governors called Satraps. Enormous armies could be collected, but their discipline was of a very loose kind; the march of the 10,000 Greeks had shown how small a force acting under discipline could defy the attacks of the Asiatic levies.

The western Satraps brought their armies to oppose Alexander when he crossed the Hellespont. They were routed at the battle of Granicus. The districts on the extreme west submitted to him generally without offering much resistance. The conqueror at once set about organising the government. The next year the Persian King Darius himself appeared in person at the head of an immense army in Syria, and the battle of Issus was fought just where the hammer-head of Asia Minor joins the handle. The Persian army was reputed to number 600,000 men, but the nature of the ground prevented the bulk of them from being brought into action. The fierceness of the Macedonian onset routed the Persian left. Darius himself fled, and his entire army soon followed his example. The royal camp, with all its riches, fell into the hands of the victors.

Alexander was in fact determined to make a complete and systematic conquest of the entire Persian Empire, and he now proceeded to reduce the whole Syrian and Phoenician coast as a preliminary to securing Egypt. A stubborn resistance was offered by the city of Tyre, which endured a famous siege, but was at last carried by storm. Darius was already offering to surrender the whole of his empire west of the Euphrates; but when even this was refused, the Persian king made up his mind to maintain the struggle. Alexander continued on the course which he had mapped out for himself, his fleets having in the meantime established a supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean, without which a capture of Tyre would probably have been impossible. He proceeded to Egypt where he was welcomed as a deliverer from the Persian rule. In 331 B.C. he made a great march from the coast, passing the Euphrates at Thapsacus, crossing Mesopotamia, and meeting Darius in decisive battle beyond the Tigris at Gaugamela. This great Persian rout is often called by the name of an important town, Arbela, some twenty miles from the scene of the battle. Again Darius fled from the field, and his treasures fell into the hands of the victor.

From thence Alexander advanced upon Babylon which

**Battles of the
Granicus and
Issus.**

**Fall of the
Persian Em-
pire, 331 B. C.**

opened its gates to him, and thence again to the great Persian capitals of Susa (the Shushan of the Bible) and Persepolis. But he could not regard the conquest as complete while Darius was still at large in Media. From Persepolis Alexander started in pursuit. The hapless king, however, was murdered by his own followers before Alexander could overtake him.

Already Alexander was practically master of the whole Persian Empire, except those wild and never thoroughly subdued regions which are now called Western Turkestan, Afghanistan and Baluchistan. The subjugation of these districts occupied the next three years. In 326 B.C. he led his army through the passes of the north-west of India, and after conquering the north-western region which we call the Punjab he was obliged to return, because at last his army would follow him no further. In 323 B.C. he died at Babylon, in the thirty-third year of his age.

The conquests of Alexander, whose career was closed ten years after his passage into Asia, were sufficiently astonishing from a military point of view. In general, no doubt, the Greek troops under a Greek commander stood in relation to the oriental levies very much as British regiments stood to the levies of the native princes of India; and the 'formation' of troops known as the Macedonian Phalanx was the most formidable weapon which any commander had hitherto wielded. But there were also great masses of Greek mercenary troops in the service of the Persian monarch, and this makes the actual results of the battles more remarkable than they would otherwise have been. Yet, after all, this is only to say that Alexander's enterprise was a piece of correctly calculated audacity; and correctly calculated audacity is one of the highest qualities of a commander. But it would be unjust to think of Alexander merely as a military adventurer who proved himself an irresistible warrior. His dream of empire was not a purely personal one; he intended that empire to be solid and united, a fusion of east and west. Two thousand years have passed since his day, and no one has yet solved the problem of fusing east and west. The Asiatic has remained Asiatic, and the European has remained European, in whichever

continent they have established themselves. The conquests of Greeks or Romans, of Crusaders or British, failed as the conquest of Arabs and Turks also failed to destroy the barrier which still stands between the peoples of the east and of the west. Alexander made the first great attempt to break it down. The empire which he won fell to pieces. Nevertheless, for centuries to come the oriental peoples were affected by the culture of the west more than at any later period, although their Greek rulers lost much of their western character.

When Alexander died he left no heir, and for some years there was a long turmoil of struggles between his generals and the sons of his generals, each of them striving to obtain the lion's share of the empire. In the outcome it was parted into four great divisions.

The Greek dynasty of the Ptolemies got possession of Egypt. The Greek dynasty of the Seleucidae got possession of Syria, that is to say broadly the regions from the Tigris on the east to Phoenicia on the west, including some parts of Asia Minor. The bulk of Asia Minor forms the third division, and this broke up into separate principalities or kingdoms, some under Greek dynasties and some not. The fourth division is the Macedonian dominion in Europe, while on the east beyond the Tigris there arose a new power to which was given the name of Parthia.

We need not here go into the details of the wars and strifes of the Diadochi, as the successors of Alexander are called. But we must note the establishment in Asia Minor of the kingdom of Pontus and Bithynia on the Black Sea, of Pergamus on the west, and also a curious sort of back wave of Celtic invasion which created the Gaelic province of Galatia in the middle of Asia Minor. A Celtic horde invaded Greece from the north; and though it was driven from thence made its way back eastwards into Asia, and settled there.

Seleucus, the founder of the Seleucid dynasty, was one of Alexander's generals, who made himself master of the greater part of the Asiatic Empire. He thought of extending his dominion in India, where the Macedonians had not really established themselves, and in the

northern part of which a great king named Chandragupta was setting up a powerful empire. He contented himself, however, by making a treaty with that monarch, since he was more anxious to secure his dominion in Western Asia. He was the founder of the famous town of Antioch, which he named after his father Antiochus; a city which became the real capital of the Syrian dominion. Antiochus was one of the favourite names of this dynasty. Antiochus III., surnamed the Great, was unsuccessful in a war with Egypt, but carried his arms far to the east, and renewed the friendship of Seleucus and the Indian Emperor Chandragupta with Chandragupta's successor Subhagasena, about the beginning of the second century B.C. But from this point the history of Western Asia comes into the current of Roman history.

We return then to Europe at the death of Alexander the Great. Alexander had left behind as regent in Macedonia a general named Antipater. While the king was winning an empire, attempts were made by various Greek states to shake off the Macedonian yoke, but without success.

Macedon. The Conqueror's death led to a renewal of these attempts known as the Lamian War, but again they were unsuccessful. The death of Antipater led to a long contest for the kingdom of Macedon. The most famous of the competitors was Demetrius Poliorcetes, the 'besieger,' who won the crown for a time but was driven out again. Then for a time the celebrated soldier Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, shared the monarchy, which was divided, but he was turned out again after six months. Soon afterwards a member of the house of Ptolemy got himself acknowledged as King of Macedon. During his exceedingly brief rule the Celts or Gauls made their incursion into Greece, after which they retired eastwards and established themselves in Galatia. Finally, Antigonus Gonatas secured the throne for himself, and his dynasty reigned in Macedon until its final overthrow by the Romans.

All this time, whoever was King of Macedonia, none of the Greek states was able to break away. None in fact was

sufficiently strong to offer prolonged resistance to the armies which one or other of the rivals could bring into the field. Now, however, there appear certain leagues of minor states which begin to show the value of federations whose members have no rivalry among themselves for supremacy, but have common patriotic objects. The first of these was the Achaean League of twelve cities, in what we may call the northern province of the Peloponnesus. It was of old standing, but had never attempted to take an active part in Greek politics. The League had been suppressed for a time, but began a new career of activity under the guidance of Aratus of Sicyon. It liberated some cities from the Macedonian yoke, or rather from that of the despots whom the Macedonians had placed there. As it opened its membership to other states, it was joined in a short time by a considerable number, though others such as Sparta itself would not join it. By the end of the third century B.C. another League came into prominence, the Aetolian; and also there was a temporary revival of the power of Sparta under its King Cleomenes. But still the old trouble went on; Sparta and the two Leagues were all jealous of each other, and no general unity was ever achieved, especially after membership began to be forced upon states who were unwilling to join.

**Achaean and
Aetolian
Leagues.**

But between 218 B.C. and 202 B.C. Rome was engaged in her great struggle with Carthage, known as the second Punic War. Before it was terminated, she was already being forced into contact with Greece and Macedon, whose further history becomes a part of the story of the expansion of the Roman Empire.



THE ROMAN EMPIRE
to illustrate Chapters VI to VIII



CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF ROME

IN the meantime, while Greece had lived through the great period of her intellectual and political splendour, another power had been building itself up in the Italian peninsula, which in its turn was to dominate the civilised world. The recorded history of Rome and of Italy was the work of Roman writers at a comparatively late date, though their work was based on earlier records as well as traditions. The beginnings of the Italian states, however, were clearly later than the beginnings of Greek states, and the development was slower. But Rome presents us, as the Greeks did not, with the spectacle of a single state steadily and persistently extending its power and at the same time consolidating it.

Among the Greeks the empire or supremacy which they called 'hegemony' exercised by any one state never meant that the other states were absorbed into it, or became one with it. The leading state was obeyed willingly or unwillingly by the rest, which still remained separate states having no sense of unity with the chief. Such unity as there was always took the form of a loose confederacy, in which the strongest binding force, in the absence of any pressing emergency which threatened the whole group, was the power of a single state to compel obedience to its dictation. Rome, on the other hand, produced unity by the complete or partial admission of other states to its own citizenship; by extending privileges to them, and by holding out the prospect of their becoming not allies or subordinates but actual members of the ruling state.

The Italian Aryans entered the peninsula as the Hellenes entered Greece in successive waves. Among them we find two groups of primary importance which are generally called the Latin and Oscan or Sabellian. Looking **Races in Italy.** at the map we shall see that Italy is divided into two by the great chain of the Apennines, the city of Rome standing on the river Tiber midway down the western half. It is in this western half that the development took place.

The Latins, pushing down over the Apennines, found the regions on the west of the river Tiber already occupied by the Etruscans, a pre-Aryan people probably akin to the non-Semitic races of Asia Minor, whom the Hellenes also had probably found before them in Greece and the islands of the Aegean. The Etruscans were too strong to be conquered by the invaders who moved down the eastern bank of the Tiber and occupied Latium ; while the Oscans, pressing on behind them, occupied the higher lands away from the coast, and partly encircled the Latins on the south. Latium was geographically favourable to the development of cities ; and the Latins, like the Greeks, formed themselves at an early stage into a collection of city states. The political system was much like that of the Greeks, with a king, a group of aristocratic families, and inferior but free clans, and a slave population at the bottom of the scale. The power of the Etruscans in the north, and the pressure of the Oscan tribes from the mountains, caused the Latin cities to **The Latin League.** form a league ; which, however, implied little more than a recognition of the necessity of presenting a united front to a common foe, after the fashion of the Greeks when they went against Troy or faced the Persian invader. After the same fashion also the Latin cities were inclined to recognise the leadership, but not the lordship, of some one among their number.

Tradition declares that the city of Rome was founded in the year 753 B.C. by Romulus. During the next 240 years seven kings reigned, including the founder. The last, **2. Early History.** Tarquinius the Proud, was expelled, and the Romans swore that they would never again submit to the sway of a king. Henceforth, what had been the royal office was shared by two chief magistrates, called Consuls or Praetors, who

were elected annually. Rome began its career as a republic in the year 509 B.C., and continued always on the principle of **The Republic.** double magistracies—two consuls, two praetors, two quaestors, and so on; so that there was never any one person who could make use of his office to snatch at supreme power. At the outset, all officers had to be elected exclusively from the families of the nobility, who were called Patricians. For some centuries to come there was a protracted struggle between Patricians and the Commons or Plebeians, in the course of which the Commons gradually won for themselves all the rights which had at first been the exclusive privilege of the Patricians. A hundred years after the first foundation of Rome she had become the chief city of the Latin League.

Now we can to some extent correct this traditional account of the origin of the Roman republic. The point where Rome **Tradition** was built was marked by the leaders of the Latin **corrected.** League as a valuable position to fortify. The city had its origin as a fortress planted by the Latin League as a military colony. But if it was the frontier post of the Latins, it was also the point of attack both for the Etruscans and Sabellians. Now the legend tells us that the first four kings were alternately Latins and Sabines, that is, Sabellians, and that two of the last three were Etruscan. Further, we find that there were three tribes of nobles which were of Latin, Sabine, and Etruscan origin respectively. Further, the expulsion of the kings was the expulsion of an Etruscan dynasty. The conclusion is that the fortress of Rome was a perpetual object of contest between Latins, Sabines and Etruscans; that its occupants had become a composite of the three races; that in the last period represented by the Etruscan kings, Tarquinius Priscus **The Roman** and Tarquinius Superbus, an Etruscan dynasty **Kings.** did actually establish itself; and that the expulsion of the kings was in part, at least, a revolt against the Etruscan supremacy, in which the nobility of Etruscan descent (as shown by their names) were as active as Latins or Sabines.

Now there is another point to be noted. The legend makes no suggestion of a hereditary monarchy. It is only when we reach the Etruscan stage that an attempt is made to establish

a dynasty. It appears then that the Romans and Sabines were still in the stage in which we find the Teutons when they make their first appearance. They appointed their chief, who was primarily a war-lord, for life ; but his office had not yet become hereditary. But in the sixth century, the era when Tyrants were seizing the government in so many of the Greek states, including those in Sicily, an Etruscan family follows their example in Rome. Again, as in so many of the Greek states, the nobles combine to eject the despots. It is curious to find that in order to avoid the danger of a despotism, the Romans hit upon the device of the double consulship, which has some resemblance to the double kingship of Sparta.

Since the Romans loathed the memory of the kings, we can trust the tradition which pays them the compliment of declaring that Rome was particularly powerful under their **The Etruscan** sway, and lost much of her power when they were **Ascendency.** expelled. It was as much as she could do to maintain her independence. For the Etruscans were now at the height of their power ; they had a considerable navy, and were in alliance with Carthage. But thirty years after the date given for the expulsion of the kings from Rome, the Carthaginians were checked by the Sicilian Greeks at Himera, when the Persians met with their great overthrow at Salamis ; and six years later the Etruscans themselves met with a disaster at the hands of the Sicilian Greeks, which marks the decline of their power.

Meanwhile Rome had recovered in the Latin League the ascendancy which she had lost in the first years after the expulsion of the kings. Etruscan aggression was **Revival of** checked for many years, during which Romans **Rome's Power.** and Latins were engaged in perpetual contests with the Oscan tribes of the Aequi and Volsci on the east and south of Latium, whose power was broken, though not destroyed, at the moment when the Etruscans were again becoming active. To these wars belongs the legend of Coriolanus, the victorious captain who, being banished from Rome, joined the Volscians, and led them to the destruction of the ungrateful city, which he nevertheless spared at the prayer of his wife and mother.

The events of the years at the close of the fifth century and

the beginning of the fourth, the period of the Peloponnesian War and the Spartan ascendancy in Greece, have to be extracted from a crowd of legends for which there is no doubt that deliberate fiction was largely responsible. It is clear, however, that the Etruscan city of Veii, which had long been a rival of Rome, was finally overthrown by the great captain, Camillus; also the Sabellian tribe were extending their power to the southward under the name of Samnites.

But now a new alien force appeared on the scene. A horde of Celts, Galli, or Gauls poured into the northern plains of Italy beyond the Apennines, descended through the mountains into Etruria, swept over that province, and captured and sacked the city of Rome itself. The legend tells how, when the Gauls attempted by night to scale the Roman citadel called the Capitol, the clamour raised by the sacred geese aroused the sentinel, and the Capitol was saved for the time; how, after long siege, the Gauls were attacked and utterly routed at the moment when the city was in the very act of surrender. It is not probable that the story is true; but, at any rate, the Gauls, having sacked Rome, did retire, and settled down in the valley of the Po, the region which was subsequently named Cisalpine Gaul (that is, 'Gaul on this side of the Alps').

From this time legend plays a smaller part in the history. The Etruscan power was almost ruined by the Gallic invasion, but Rome recovered from the disaster with extraordinary rapidity. Almost immediately afterwards she defeated a combination of her old enemies, the Aequi, the Volsci, and the Etruscans. Hitherto, she had been merely maintaining her position as the strongest of the Italian cities; from this time she began to extend her dominion.

It is time for us then to examine the constitution of the Roman city-state which was destined to accomplish what the Greek states failed to achieve. When the kings were expelled the state consisted, in accordance with the unfailing rule, of three classes: the Nobles or Patricians, the Free Commons or Plebeians, and the Slaves. There was a governing council called the Senate, besides a general assembly of the Nobles, who alone enjoyed complete

political rights. But before the expulsion of the kings the Commons had also acquired the right of meeting in the Assembly or Comitia called 'Centuriata.' This was constituted primarily for military purposes, and was formed in groups in such a way as to give a great preponderance of voting power to the wealthier classes. When the republic was established, the powers of the king were transferred, as we **Patres** have already seen, to elected magistrates. The **and Plebs.** citizens assembled in the Comitia Centuriata were the electors, but they could only choose between candidates from Patrician families. Plebeians, however wealthy they might be, were inferior to the nobles, and marriages between the two classes were not recognised. The Plebeians also had an assembly of their own, and for the purposes of this assembly they were distributed into tribes. The Patricians we saw were divided into tribes according to their national descent, each tribe being made up of clans or *gentes*, and each clan of families. But the tribes of the Commons were not formed according to descent, but according to districts. The city of Rome was divided into four, and the citizens in each bore the tribal name; that is, they were enrolled as members of that tribe. Outside the city there were sixteen districts and sixteen tribes.

Now the Commons had grievances of two kinds: political and social. They had practically no voice in government, and they were absolutely precluded from entering the ranks of the Patricians and sharing their privileges. Hence, at **The** a very early stage, there took place what was **Tribunate.** called a Secession of the Plebeians, who threatened to withdraw from the state altogether unless concessions were made to them. This brought about the creation of the tribunes of the Plebs; officers who had the power of forbidding the actions and the decrees of the magistrates or of the Senate; the power, that is, of preventing obnoxious action.

One very serious grievance of the Plebeians lay in the treatment of the public land. Besides the private property in land, which every one had to possess before he was **Public Land.** entitled to rank as a free citizen, there were common lands which had belonged to the state; and whenever

territory was taken from a vanquished foe this became common or public land. As such it was occupied only by the full citizens, that is to say the Patricians. The demand was naturally made that the Plebeians should have their share. This principle was recognised in spite of great efforts on the part of the Patricians

The Decemvirs, B.C. 450. to resist or evade it. An advance was made when a committee of ten, called the Decemvirs, were appointed not to legislate but to put the existing laws into shape. The code thus produced was adopted by the Comitia, and became known as the 'twelve tables,' a sort of Magna Charta or Statutory Declaration of the first principles of the Constitution. The conduct, however, of a fresh group of Decemvirs led again to a secession of the Plebs.

The popular grievances by degrees led up to the passing of the laws which are known as the Licinian Rogations, which

The Licinian Rogations, B.C. 367. were due to the determination of the two tribunes Licinius and Sextius. This law enacted that one consul must be a Plebeian; it limited the amount

of public land which any one tenant could rent from the state, and the number of sheep or cattle he might graze on public land. Further, it endeavoured to release the poorer citizens from the pressure under which they suffered, by compelling the land-holders to employ paid labour as well as slave labour, and by providing convenient terms of settlement for debtors. The measure did not succeed in one of its main objects, which was to prevent the accumulation of great quantities of land in a very few hands. The small farmers who constituted the bulk of the Plebeians derived some benefit from the restrictions with regard to the public lands and from the reduced taxation, because of the increased rents which the exchequer received from the leasing of public land. What especially relieved

Military Colonies. the earth hunger however, the need felt for more land by the Plebeian yeomen as their number multiplied, was the practice of planting them as military colonists where new territories were acquired, in occupation of the soil. So long as this expansion of territory kept pace with the increase of the rural population, the agrarian question did not again become acute.

Some time earlier, soon after the second secession, intermarriage between Plebeians and Patricians had been legalised. The nobles thus ceased to be a legally separate caste. As a consequence of the whole period of struggle which was concluded with the passing of the Licinian law, the contest for privilege and for political power ceased to be one between the old Patricians and Plebeians. Politically and socially the wealthy Plebeian families began to stand on an equality with the Patricians, and a new aristocracy arose of the families which by custom and wealth succeeded in acquiring a sort of monopoly in the tenure of public offices. The Licinian Law was passed just before the death of Camillus, the old warrior who had overthrown Veii—whether he had or had not also dealt destruction to the Gauls. He appears to have held among the Patricians a position very much like that of the Duke of Wellington among the English Tories between 1830 and 1850. The first Plebeian consul was Lucius Sextius, the colleague of Licinius in the Tribunate.

A few years earlier Rome had begun to put in practice the method to which, perhaps more than to any thing else, she owed the consolidation of her empire. The Latin city of Tusculum, a member of the League, ceased to be an independent state; but her citizens received the full rights of Roman citizenship, that is of the Commons of Rome. They held the right of voting in the Roman Assemblies, like the inhabitants of Rome itself; with the natural result that they very soon learnt to think of themselves as Romans, almost as a dweller in Kensington might think of himself as a Londoner.

Soon afterwards, in the middle of the fourth century, began the practice of conceding to other cities the ordinary rights of Roman citizens without the political vote, the cities at the same time surrendering their independence; the first example being the Etruscan city of Caere. Almost to the same date probably belongs the first Treaty of Rome with Carthage, which had long recovered its maritime power; a treaty in which Carthage recognised Rome as the sovereign power in Latium.

**A New
Aristocracy.**

**Admission to
Citizenship,
381 B.C.**

351 B.C.

The Roman supremacy, however, was becoming alarming to the Latins. A war followed in which the Romans were victorious, and the Latin League was dissolved. **4. End of the Latin League.** The cities of the League were deprived of their independence in many cases, but were admitted to the full Roman citizenship as Tusculum had been. Several cities of the more southerly district of Campania, which had supported the Latins, were given the more limited rights granted to Caere. In the meanwhile the Patricians had been frustrated in an attempt to ignore the Licinian Law, which only led to some extension of the right of Plebeians to the magistracies, and a limitation of the power of the Patricians in the Comitia.

Now, however, the Romans found themselves in contact with a stubborn enemy, the Samnites. A war broke out, in the course of which a Roman army was entrapped in **Wars with the Samnites.** a pass, the Caudine Forks, and had to submit to the degradation of 'passing under the yoke.' The war was still going on without showing any marked prospect of a decisive victory on either side, when the Etruscans again took up arms. They had hardly been overcome and forced to submission, when the Sabellian tribes on the east joined their Samnite kinsmen. A peace was patched up, but not for long. The Samnites with other Sabellians, the Etruscans, and a contingent of Gauls, renewed the war. The Etruscans were again forced to make peace; and at last the Samnites, practically isolated, came to terms with the Romans after nearly half a century of indecisive fighting.

The year 287 is notable for the Hortensian Law, which finally ratified a principle which had more than once been enacted: **Hortensian Law.** that the Plebeian assembly of tribes could pass laws with authority as complete as though they had been ratified in the Comitia Centuriata.

The expansion of Rome was now bringing her in contact with the peoples of the south, where the Greek colonies were situated. Roman intervention was invited in local quarrels; the opportunity was taken for fresh risings of the hostile peoples. The Roman arms were successful, but the intrigues of the Greek

colony of Tarentum were suspected of having been the cause of the insurrections. A purely technical breach of treaty rights on the part of a small Roman squadron gave the Tarentines an excuse for an onslaught on the transgressors. **War in South Italy.** The insults with which a Roman Embassy of Italy. protest was received at Tarentum compelled a declaration of war; and the Tarentines, who could now count on the support of nearly all the southern Italians, including the Samnites, succeeded also in obtaining the aid of the most brilliant but most erratic soldier of the age, Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, whom we have already met with when the Macedonian generals were fighting for the crown of Macedon.

King Pyrrhus doubtless hoped to turn his intervention into account for himself by making himself king of Southern Italy and Sicily, and turning his new dominion into **Pyrrhus,** a basis from which he could acquire a supremacy **280 B.C.** among the kingdoms into which the empire of Alexander the Great had been broken up. He had been called in to the aid of Hellenes against barbarians. But the Roman was a very different kind of barbarian from those whom Alexander had overthrown. Pyrrhus had perfected the formation of troops known as the Macedonian Phalanx, a solid mass of heavily armed spearmen ranged sixteen deep, which usually proved impenetrable to the fiercest charges. On open ground the Phalanx proved invincible. Pyrrhus was victorious in a desperate battle at Heraclea, which brought him fresh allies. But the Roman defeat was not a rout, and Pyrrhus was obliged to wait for a fresh campaign next year, when he found on advancing towards Rome that the great bulk of the Latins and Campanians remained loyal to her. The cities which had been admitted to the full citizenship felt themselves to be one with Rome, and the rest hoped that loyalty would bring to them a like reward.

The next year brought Pyrrhus another victory, but of an even less decisive character; and in both he had lost immense numbers of his best troops. He resolved to let **Repulse of** Rome alone, and try the conquest of Sicily. After **Pyrrhus.** two years of campaigning with insufficient results, he returned

to Italy ; but he attempted an operation against the Romans for which the Phalanx was not adapted. Being unable to retain its rigid formation it was thrown into confusion, and being once penetrated became practically helpless. The defeat decided him to retire from Italy altogether. The complete subjection of Southern Italy by the Romans was the immediate consequence of his departure.

Now that we have reached the point when Rome was practically mistress of Italy, we can examine the system somewhat more closely, and see where its strength and **5. The Roman System.** its weakness lay. The centre of the dominion is the city of Rome with the adjacent territories, corresponding to Athens or any other of the city states of Greece with its adjacent territories. The administration of this state is in the hands of a select council, the Senate, of which membership is practically permanent. Its numbers are made up at brief intervals mainly from among persons who have held high public office.

It owes its powers not to enactment but to custom, which has practically given it control of foreign relations. Large executive powers are held by the annually elected officers of state, but they by custom practically carry out the will of the Senate. Both Senate and officers have a power of issuing decrees of a temporary character.

But the permanent legislation corresponding to what we call statutes is in the hands of two assemblies, the **Legislation.** Centuriata and the Comitia Tributa. Laws are introduced in the former by the consuls and in the latter by tribunes. The members vote by groups, but there is no representation ; that is, any one who wishes his vote to be recorded in that of his group must attend in person. It follows that all the voting is done only by the people who have no difficulty in presenting themselves at Rome and taking part in the assemblies. Practically, therefore, the voting is entirely controlled by the dwellers in or near Rome. As long as he finds himself decently governed, the Roman citizen is satisfied with his abstract right to come and vote, which he does not ordinarily care to exercise. Dangerous legislation is

held in check by the power of any tribune to interpose a veto.

But outside Rome itself, the cities which have rendered her good service have been placed politically on an equal footing with the dwellers in Rome. Their citizens can vote if they choose to attend; they are eligible for office; they have all the rights possessed by actual Romans, and all the obligations; but they manage their local affairs in their own way.

On the next plane are those cities which have been granted the private rights of Roman citizens, but not the political rights, while they have all the obligations. Generally they too manage their own local affairs, though in some cases they are subordinated to officials appointed from Rome. All, however, can hope that loyalty will be rewarded by their being raised to the full status of Roman citizenship. They have therefore a strong inducement to loyalty. Outside these again are numerous cities which are on terms of alliance with Rome, varying in various cases. They are so far vassal states that they have no independent power of making peace and war, and are liable for military service. This group is known as the Allies or *Socii*. With them are joined the two groups called respectively Roman and Latin colonies. A Roman colony is in effect a city in which there is a permanent garrison of Roman citizens. The Latin colonies are large settlements of Romans and Latins planted on confiscated territories, partly for military purposes, and partly as an outlet for the population. Politically, they are on the same footing as the allies.

Lastly, there remain a comparatively small number of cities which are on terms of equal alliance with Rome herself.

The defeat of Pyrrhus at Beneventum occurred in 275 B.C. It caused the eastern powers to recognise as they had not done before that a power of first-class importance had risen up in Italy, and Ptolemy the King of Egypt sent an embassy to Rome. As yet, however, there was another state with which Rome had to settle accounts before involving herself with the east. The Phoenician colony of Carthage had been planted about midway along the north

coast of Africa in the eighth century B.C., or possibly earlier. Carthage soon became entirely independent of the eastern empires, carried her commerce far to the west, and even sent her ships to procure tin from the remote island afterwards known as Britain. She had established herself in Sicily; and though her aggression had been checked early in the fifth century, her rivalry with the Greek states in that island had never ceased. When Pyrrhus invaded Sicily his nominal purpose was to crush this rival of the Greek states. Eleven years after the departure of Pyrrhus, Carthage and Rome were at war.

As frequently happens, the collision was brought about by events in which neither Carthage nor Rome was primarily concerned. The Sicilian city of Messina had been occupied by a force of what were originally mercenary troops from the south of Italy known as Mamertines. Such a force, owning no particular nationality, no allegiance to any existing state, was a menace to the neighbouring cities. The King of Syracuse resolved to suppress them. The Mamertines resolved to call to their aid either the Romans or the Carthaginians. The Romans took alarm at the possibility of Carthage becoming possessed of Messina, which commanded the strait between Italy and Sicily, and sent an army to help the Mamertines. But the Carthaginian party in Messina admitted Carthaginian forces. Rome and Carthage immediately found themselves at war for the supremacy in Sicily.

This which is called the first Punic War is of interest mainly for two reasons. One of these is the episode of the Roman general Regulus; the other is the creation of the Roman Fleet.

It very soon became clear to the Romans that whatever successes they might win by land they would not be able to expel Carthage from Sicily while she held the mastery of the seas. The Romans possessed ships, but they had made no attempt to build up a naval power. The Carthaginians were the most expert sailors in the world, and the Romans had no ships which could be matched against

theirs. The Romans set about building a fleet, but seamanship could not be acquired offhand. They perceived that they could only achieve success at sea by making sea-fights as like land-fights as possible; by making them depend not on the skilful manœuvring of ships, but on boarding and hand-to-hand fighting. They supplied their new ships with machinery which had the single object of grappling the enemy's ships and making the fight one not between sailors but between soldiers. The novel tactics were successful, and when the Romans could succeed in forcing an engagement they were generally victorious. But their lack of seamanship caused their fleets repeatedly to meet destruction from the winds and waves, so that for a very long time they were unable to obtain decisive command of the sea. Hence the great fortified ports of Carthage were able to defy their efforts.

It was resolved to invade Carthaginian territory. The army under the command of Regulus at first overran the country; but when the Carthaginians set a Lacedaemonian soldier of fortune at the head of their troops, the Romans met with a great disaster, and Regulus with a large part of his army fell a prisoner. The story runs that envoys were later sent to Rome taking Regulus with them, with offers to restore the prisoners on terms; but that Regulus advised the Senate to refuse the offer, choosing rather to return and face what he knew must be a cruel doom than to let his countrymen lose anything by saving his life.

In the closing years of the war the Carthaginians in Sicily found a brilliant leader in Hamilcar Barca. At length, however, a final naval victory enabled the Romans to dictate terms under which the Carthaginians were to evacuate Sicily and to pay a heavy indemnity.

Hamilcar resolved to devote his own life and that of his sons to the struggle with Rome, which he saw would have to be fought out, until either Rome or Carthage should utterly perish. To bring such a struggle to a successful end, he saw that a power must be built up which would be able to act independently of the faction-ridden government of Carthage. To this end he proposed to organise a Carthaginian dominion

in Spain, where flourishing colonies were already in existence. The dominant faction at home was glad to be rid of a popular and brilliant soldier, who might become exceedingly dangerous if he remained at home; and Hamilcar's departure to Spain was readily agreed to. There he steadily expanded the rule of the Carthaginian over the native tribes, and trained up his young son Hannibal in the art of war.

Hamilcar died, but his work was taken up by his son-in-law Hasdrubal. A few years later he also died. The army in Spain acclaimed as its chief Hannibal, the son of **Hannibal.** Hamilcar, who was now twenty-six. The government at Carthage did not venture to dispute their choice.

Young Hannibal was completely possessed with his father's determination to wage war to the death with Rome. In defiance of treaties, Hannibal found pretext for attacking the town of Saguntum on the Spanish coast, which was allied with Rome, in the year 218 B.C.; the Carthaginian government having refused to repudiate the action of their young general in Spain, war was declared.

Hannibal presents one of those extraordinary personalities, which from time to time stand out in the world's history as dominating forces. In the second Punic War we see not Rome pitted against Carthage, not a struggle between two great and powerful nations, but the genius of one man striving against all the resources of a powerfully organised state, and almost succeeding in bringing that state to ruin. Roman armies displayed stubborn valour and discipline. Occasionally Roman commanders displayed ability. The Roman government faced disasters and recovered from them with a splendid resolution, and found themselves supported by the dogged loyalty of the great bulk of the Italians. But Hannibal had to depend entirely on his own military genius, his own personal influence, the prestige of his arms, and the devotion which he inspired among heterogeneous masses of followers of varying races, who were without the inspiration of a common patriotism, and received practically no support from the state in whose name they were fighting.

Between the end of the first Punic War and the outbreak

of the second there had been a war between Rome and the Gauls of Northern Italy, with the result that Rome had planted colonies in Gallic territory. Hannibal's plan of the war rested on the natural belief that initial victories on his part would lead to a revolt of large numbers of the Italians against the Roman supremacy. He counted on the active co-operation of the Gauls, and he trusted to Spain as the basis from which reinforcements should be drawn. He probably knew that the jealousy of the oligarchical families at Carthage would make it vain to anticipate from Africa energetic support for his own operations. The Romans, on the other hand, expected the war to be waged mainly in Sicily, on the seas, and in Africa; but they had also realised that for aggressive purposes Spain, not Africa, was the Carthaginian basis. The Roman fleet was now so powerful, however, that there was no fear of a serious invasion of Italy by sea; and an invasion by land, involving the march of an army past the Pyrenees, through the wild tribes inhabiting the south of France, and across the Alps, did not at first sight seem alarming. But the genius of Hannibal surmounted these tremendous difficulties.

The Roman consul was starting with an army for Spain by sea when he learnt that Hannibal was already past the Pyrenees. He endeavoured unsuccessfully to check the advance of the Carthaginian army on the Rhone; but he still counted on the force becoming disorganised in the passage of the Alps, and despatched his main army to Spain, though he himself returned to Italy, hoping to crush Hannibal when he came down into the Gallic plain.

In fact, when Hannibal pierced into Italy, he had with him little more than 25,000 men out of the army with which he had started. Nevertheless, he inflicted a severe defeat on the Romans at the Trebia. The Romans found themselves obliged to face an active and brilliant general on Italian territory, and were forced to conduct a war on defensive lines.

In the next year Hannibal penetrated into Etruria, and

Plan of Campaign.

Hannibal crosses the Alps.

Battles of the Trebia, 218 B. C.

inflicted a tremendous defeat on the incompetent Roman commander Flaminius at Lake Trasimene. His policy of **and Trasi-** annihilating the Romans and winning the Italians **mene, 217 B.C.** over to his own side became at once apparent. He knew that his own army could not accomplish the conquest by itself.

Counting on his own military skill he was always eager to force an engagement on the enemy, reckoning that every great victory increased the chances of an Italian revolt. Whenever **Cannae,** he did bring on an engagement he was successful, **216 B.C.** and the battle of Cannae a year after Trasimene was a massacre of the Roman army. Yet he never felt himself strong enough to attempt the siege of Rome, while the Italian allies remained obstinately loyal. The Romans, on the other hand, in the face of the most terrific disasters, grew only the more stubborn in their resistance. Moreover, in Spain their arms prospered; Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, left in charge of that country, was unable to send him assistance; and from Carthage itself none was forthcoming. Hannibal found himself cooped up in the south of Italy, while the Romans found themselves able to enter on an active campaign in Sicily. A turn of the tide in Spain at last enabled Hasdrubal to lead a fresh army **The Metaurus,** in his brother's footsteps; but though he penetrated **207.** into the north of Italy, he was intercepted on the Metaurus by a brilliant march of the Roman General Nero, before he could affect a junction with Hannibal. Hasdrubal was killed and his army annihilated.

For Hannibal the struggle had already become desperate. In Spain victory once more attended the arms of the youthful Roman general Scipio, and the country was reduced to subjection. He returned to Rome and was despatched with an army against Carthage itself. Hannibal was recalled to face **Zama,** the invader, but in the decisive battle which was **202 B.C.** fought at Zama the victory lay with Scipio. Hannibal himself urged peace accepting Scipio's terms. Practically, Carthage was to surrender her war-fleet and to be placed in the same position as the Italian Socii, managing her own affairs, but subject to the Roman suzerainty on questions of

war and peace. Hannibal remained for a while at Carthage, where he endeavoured to reform the system of government; but the intrigues of the old oligarchical party, and the feeling of personal hostility towards him prevalent in Rome, compelled him to fly from the country; and with his departure disappeared the last chance of the recuperation of Carthage.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK II., 500 B.C. TO 200 B.C.

GUIDING DATES

GREEK.		ROMAN.	
The Ionic Revolt	499	Tribunes instituted	494
Battle of Marathon	490	Decemvirs . . .	451
Battle of Salamis	480	Volscians overthrown . . .	431
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Ascendency of Pericles	460-429	Gauls take Rome	390
Peloponnesian War . . .	431-404	Latin League closed . . .	385
Sicilian Expedition	415-413	Licinian Law	367
Epaminondas	375-362	Samnite wars begin	343
Philip of Macedon	359-336	Latin League dissolved . .	338
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Achaean League	281	Second Punic War	218-202
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LEADING NAMES

Darius—Xerxes—Themistocles—Aristides—Pericles—Alcibiades—
Camillus—Epaminondas—Philip—Demosthenes—Alexander—
Darius II.—Seleucus—Ptolemy—Pyrrhus—Regulus—Hamilcar Barca
—Hannibal—Scipio Africanus.

NOTES

Greek History. From one point of view, this may be divided into the following periods during these 300 years: (1) Contest of the Hellenes with Persia, lasting half a century, but becoming desultory before the end of that time; (2) Development of Athenian power

under Pericles ; (3) Struggle of Athens and Sparta for leadership of the Hellenes ; (4) Spartan and Theban supremacies ; (5) Macedonian supremacy and overthrow of the Persian Empire ; (6) Macedonian supremacy, after the disruption of Alexander's Empire. Period of Achaean and Aetolian Leagues.

Our Debt to Athens. The western world owes it to Athens that the Persian Empire was prevented from expanding into Europe. But for Marathon and Salamis, which were her work, there would have been no Plataea, and Greece would have become a Persian Satrapy. But besides this, Athens permanently raised the intellectual and artistic standard of the western world, not only by poetry unsurpassed, sculpture unmatched, and exquisite architecture, but by the thought of the supreme moral teacher Socrates, his pupil Plato, and Plato's pupil and rival—not himself an Athenian—Aristotle, who was himself tutor to Alexander the Great.

The City-State and the World-State. The development of cities as complete states owning no external sovereign was perfected among the Greeks, but proved that a different form of organisation was necessary for an extended empire. It was not till the cities were forced into unity by the country—not the city—of Macedon, that the Persian Empire could be overthrown, in spite of its lack of organisation. Rome, on the other hand, though remaining a city-state herself, broke down the city-state system in Italy, and so was able to use her Italian Empire as a basis from which to conquer a world-empire.

The Rise of Rome is to be considered under two aspects : the rivalry of Rome with other cities or leagues, leading to her ascendancy and gradual dominion over Italy, confirmed in her struggle with Carthage ; and the constitutional development of the city itself. Three race-groups are concerned in the former, the Etruscans, Latins, and Sabellians, Rome belonging on the whole to the second group, but being also akin to the third. In the latter there are three factors to be distinguished : the struggle for political rights, the struggle for social equality, and the struggle for the possession of land, between the original ruling caste and the subordinate tribes ; the principle in each case being resistance to privileges and the demand for equality before the law.

The Outer Peoples. In *India*, Buddhism was at its zenith, and the great Magadha Empire flourished over all Northern India or Hindustan, during the third century. Two Indian monarchs of the period are notable, Chandragupta, and still more Asoka, a sort of Indian Alfred the Great. In *China*, what may be called a feudal system had grown up under the Chou dynasty, which ruled from

about 1100 B.C. to 250 B.C. It was then displaced by one of the great vassals who founded the brief Chin dynasty, broke up the feudal system, and built the Great Wall which became a permanent barrier against the incursions of barbarian tribes from Central Asia. *Western Europe* was overrun by a Celtic invasion, of which a returning wave seems to have rolled back along the Mediterranean, establishing the Gauls in North Italy during the fourth century, touching Greece in the third, and finally subsiding in Asia Minor.

BOOK III
THE ROMAN DOMINION

CHAPTER VII

THE EXPANSION OF ROMAN DOMINION

THE overthrow of Rome's great rival in the west prepared the way for her expansion in the east. There, in the century which followed the death of Alexander the Great and preceded the second Punic War, we have seen a development of empires and states which may here be recapitulated. In the far east beyond the Tigris a new barbaric dominion was developing called the Parthian Empire under a native dynasty known as the Arsacidae. The Macedonian Seleucidae held the great kingdom of Syria from the Tigris to the Mediterranean, corresponding to the old Babylonian Empire at almost its fullest extent. The Macedonian Ptolemies ruled over Egypt, while Asia Minor had again broken up into kingdoms wherein Greek influences prevailed in various degrees; very little in Armenia, in Pontus, and in Cappadocia, and more in the most westerly kingdoms of Bithynia and Pergamus. The Greek cities on the coast and on the islands had recovered their independence. In Europe the chief power lay with the Macedonian kingdom with which on the whole the Achaean League was on friendly terms, while Sparta and the Aetolian League were hostile to it.

1. The Roman Conquests, 200-136 B.C. State of the East.

Now before the second Punic War began the Romans had been brought into contact with Greece by their intervention for the suppression of piracy in the Adriatic. At an early stage of the Punic War Philip the young King of Macedon began to intrigue with Hannibal, and this led to counter intrigues between the Romans and the Aetolians, with whom Attalus, the King of Pergamus, associated himself. Before the end of the Punic War, Philip was intriguing with Antiochus

Macedonian Wars.

of Syria to partition Egypt ; and Egypt, which had long ago recognised the growing might of Rome, placed herself under Roman protection. Carthage had hardly been settled when Rome found herself involved in a war with Macedon, in which she adopted the rôle of liberator of the Greeks from the yoke of Philip. A decisive battle was fought at Cynoscephalæ. Next year (196 B.C.), the victor Flamininus proclaimed at the Isthmian games the liberation of Greece.

A fresh challenge now came from Antiochus of Syria. With him Hannibal had taken refuge, and had formed a design of a **War with** great coalition against Rome. But Antiochus **Antiochus,** ruined the plan by his distrust of Hannibal, and **192-190 B.C.** by plunging into war prematurely but without energy. He entered Greece, but was completely defeated at Thermopylæ. Antiochus retired to Asia, but the Romans carried the war into Asia Minor, which the Syrian king had seized, and overthrew him at the battle of Magnesia. By the treaty which followed he was compelled to surrender Asia Minor and his fleet. Asia Minor was left for the most part under control of states friendly to Rome.

At the same time the northern portion of Italy was subdued and formed into a province under the name of Cisalpine Gaul, **End of** and a like fate befell Spain. Philip of Macedon was **Macedon, 168.** succeeded by his son Perseus. An excuse was found for making war on Macedonia. The opening campaigns brought little result, but at last a decisive victory was won at Pydna. Perseus was deposed, and Macedonia was divided into four districts which were professedly independent republics, isolated from each other by the prohibition of intermarriage and of mutual commerce.

There was now no state in the west which could rank as a power. The cities of Greece had nearly all been placed under despotic rulers wholly subservient to Rome. In Asia Minor the kings humbled themselves before her. In Syria the Jews who had long ago been allowed to return to Jerusalem by the Persian kings revolted under the leadership of the Maccabees of the tribe of Levi against the Seleucidae, and acquired independence with the approval of Rome.

Presently an excuse was found in the quarrels of the states of Greece for reducing them also to a state of subjection. For the time being the cities were allowed to conduct their own affairs ; but all disputes had to be submitted to the Roman governor who was now set over Macedonia, which was itself organised as a Roman province. **Subjection of Greece.**

Meanwhile, Carthage had been recovering her old commercial prosperity. The neighbouring King of Numidia, who had helped the Romans in the second Punic War, was encouraged to raid Carthaginian territory. The unfortunate people were forbidden to take up arms. At last the limits of endurance were passed, and they declared war with the King Masinissa. The result was the third Punic War and the famous siege of Carthage, in which the Carthaginians resisted to the last gasp. It was captured by Scipio, the son of Aemilius Paullus the victor of Pydna, and the adopted grandson of Hannibal's conqueror. Carthage was levelled to the ground, and a curse was solemnly laid upon its site. The Carthaginian dominion was organised as a Roman province. **End of Carthage, 146.**

This period of conquest closes with the suppression of the Spanish tribes, who at all periods of their history have shown an extraordinary power of maintaining a resistance to foreign conquerors. In the same year 136 B.C., in which Scipio captured Numantia, the last stronghold of the Spanish defence, Rome acquired her first actual territorial possession in Asia ; when Attalus, King of Pergamus, on his death left the Roman people heirs to his kingdom under his will. **Conquest of Spain.**

The character of the Roman government deteriorated after the great struggle with Hannibal. Hitherto it had been marked by a high public spirit ; and there was warrant for the words of the ambassador of Pyrrhus, when he told his master that the Roman Senate was an Assembly of Kings. But splendidly as the Italians and the ruling classes of Rome had maintained the contest, the effect of the war itself had been disastrous. It had wiped out enormous numbers of the best men that Italy and Rome could produce. At the end of fourteen years of fighting the number **2. The Roman Dominion.** **Deterioration of Rome.**

of Roman citizens had been actually reduced by more than a fifth. In the third year more than half the seats of the Senate were vacant. Agriculture had long been declining; and it almost perished when the whole country was being overrun with armies, and the adult population was drained to maintain the numbers of the legions.

But the war was hardly over when expansion began. Roman legions and Roman officers were brought in contact with the **Effect of** wealth and the luxuries of foreign cities and foreign **Expansion.** courts. The temptations to extortion were enormous, as the British were to find them enormous in India some two thousands years later. Rome became greedy of conquest and of the spoils of conquest; while the governing class, which had by far the largest opportunities for spoliation, became the more greedy and the more selfish as it waxed richer on ill-gotten gain.

Again, the Roman government had developed as that of a city. It became little modified while it was still in the main the rule of a city over other cities, and it still remained efficient. But when the Roman aristocracy found itself providing for the **Provincial** efficient control of great dominions across the seas **Governors.** the case became different. Provincial government had actually begun with the acquisition of Sicily and Sardinia after the first Punic War. These acquisitions could not be governed on the simple method of placing them on the same footing as the Italian allies. A governor was appointed to each province, having within its boundaries the same sort of powers as a Roman consul, with the title of praetor; but separate officers called quaestors were in control of the finances. Evidently such powers were largely open to abuse.

But there was another fundamental difference in the treatment of the provinces, arising from the conditions already prevailing in Sicily. The Sicilian states had paid taxes **Taxation of** or tribute to the two dominant powers, Carthage **Provinces.** and Syracuse. They continued to pay taxes to Rome on agricultural produce, and on both imports and exports. As new provinces were organised the same principle was naturally applied to them. But they were not required to furnish military contingents. Now in Italy the principle had been uniformly

observed of levying military contingents from the allies, but imposing no taxes.

The next provinces added were the two into which Spain was divided long before its complete subjection by the second Scipio. Here praetors were appointed; but after this, instead of additional praetors being created, consuls or praetors had their powers extended for a second year, during which they were sent to administer provinces with the title of Pro-Consul or Pro-Praetor. In the transmarine possessions those checks were wanting which at Rome prevented maladministration by the magistrates. The provincials had no remedy except the dangerous one of petitioning the supreme government at Rome for redress, when the magistrate's term of office was over. Matters were made worse because the taxes were farmed out to tax-collectors called Publicani, who paid an agreed sum to the treasury, and made what profits they could out of the provincials. In case of appeals to the government, the 'publicans' could usually ensure, especially as corruption became more and more general, that they would have a favourable hearing from the government officials.

What may be called the revolutionary period in Rome opens with the year 133 B.C., and the brief career of Tiberius Gracchus; the year when Scipio was crushing Numantia. For nearly seventy years the demoralisation of the Senatorial class had been steadily increasing. Senatorial rank had long been almost confined to a few great families, because the Senate was filled up from those persons who had held the great administrative posts, and eligibility to these posts was limited by the heavy personal outlay involved in those which had to be first undertaken.

Among the Senatorial families were found many distinguished men, who were painfully alive to the deterioration which was going on and was pervading the whole of Roman Society. But if they were aware of deterioration in the governing classes, they did not see a remedy in the restoration to power of the popular Assemblies whose constitutional authority the Senate had by custom, not by law, come to wield. For as the active functions of these bodies had decayed they came to be discharged almost

exclusively by the dwellers in Rome itself, the city rabble. We shall see that in effect the only available remedy was to be found in the concentration of power in the hands of a single person; since the idea of representation, that is of Assemblies composed of elected representatives, had not come into being. Neither the Senatorial families nor the Roman populace could stand for the Roman people. The revolutionary period is the period during which one man after another endeavours to exercise supreme power till the condition of success becomes manifestly the personal control over the military forces of the state.

But this was not the revolution at first contemplated. The grievances which it was at first intended to remedy were not **Tiberius** political but agrarian. There had been vast additions to the Public Lands during the Italian wars, but practically these had passed into the possession of the great families, although technically the state had the power of resuming them. That the state should resume these lands and parcel them out among the rural population which had become landless was the remedy proposed by **Tiberius Gracchus**, 133. **Gracchus**, 133. Gracchus having secured his election to the Tribunate, introduced a law to this effect. The holders of Public Land induced another tribune to interpose his veto. Gracchus moved that the opposing tribune should be deposed. The vote was carried, and then the Agrarian Law was passed. As soon as the period of office which made his person inviolable was over, Gracchus was killed in a riot by the opposing party.

A brief interval elapsed before the place of **Tiberius** was taken by his younger brother **Gaius Gracchus**. But the aims of **Gaius** were much wider and more revolutionary. He was **Gracchus**. determined not only to satisfy the popular demand for land, but also, partly from motives of vengeance, to destroy the power of the Senate, and to give Italy a new unity by raising the Italians to the full status of Roman citizens. This was a demand which the allies had for long been making; it would have the advantage of bringing much public land which was occupied by the allies under the operation of the Agrarian Law, but it was not desired by the Roman populace. The means by which **Gaius** hoped to force through his reforms

was the retention of the Tribune for successive years. His first measures were intended to secure popularity and personal support for himself against the Senate. The extension of the empire had brought into being a new non-Senatorial moneyed class. A very necessary law had been made pre-
 venting senators and their families from taking up
 state contracts. They had put their wealth chiefly into the
 land, but it followed that the commercial wealth had accumu-
 lated in the pockets of a different class.

Gracchus reconstituted what were known as the Equestrian groups or Knights of the Comitia Centuriata, and practically created a new Equestrian Order confined to men of wealth who were not senators; and to this order were given important judicial functions hitherto held and employed greatly to their own advantage by the Senate. To secure the votes of the mob, a law was passed by which the state supplied corn
 to Roman citizens at less than its market price.
 The popularity of his first measures secured the re-election of
 Gracchus to the Tribune; and he proceeded to put forward
 the unpopular but statesmanlike proposal for the enfranchise-
 ment of the Italians, and a further scheme for planting colonies
 of Roman citizens in the provinces.

The Senatorial party made their own bid for popularity through Drusus, a tribune whose appointment they had procured. The colonies proposed by Gracchus were to be limited to citizens of established character, who were to pay a rent to the state. Drusus proposed to plant in Italy a greater number of larger colonies where the lands were to be held rent free, without inquiring into the character of the colonist.
 Gracchus lost his popularity, failed to win the
 Tribune a third time, and only escaped murder at the hands
 of the Optimates, as the Senatorial party called themselves, by seeking death at the hands of a faithful slave, who then slew himself upon his master's corpse.

During these years the Romans had established their dominion in the south-eastern region of Gaul or France, 4. Marius
 and in the years following there was a prolonged
 war with Jugurtha, the King of Numidia. His conquest was

effected by Marius, a general who boasted of his humble birth ; who was inclined to bid for the position of a popular hero, and became a tool rather than a leader of the **Jugurtha.** democratic party. The credit for success was indeed due more to his aristocratic lieutenant Sulla than to himself. The close of the second century B.C. was marked by the appearance in Southern Gaul of an enemy destined in later days to play a large part in the destruction of the Roman Empire. This was the vanguard of the great migration of the Teutonic tribes. Two hordes appeared, called the **Cimbri** and **Teutones.** There is not much doubt that both **The German Vanguard.** were actually Germanic or Teutonic, though the name of the Cimbri suggests Celtic origin. At the outset the Roman armies were defeated by them, but they met with complete destruction at the hands of Marius and Catulus in 102. The German tide was beaten back for some centuries.

At Rome the fall of the Gracchi had made matters worse than before. The popular party degenerated into pure demagogues ; the optimates were determined to cling to wealth and power. Both parties were unscrupulous, and had learnt to include assassination, rioting, and the most flagrant breaches of constitutional law and practice as legitimate means to victory. The failure of Gracchus to carry his proposals for the enfranchisement of the Italians had intensified their **The Social War, 91 B.C.** dissatisfaction ; and now a revolt of the Socii, known in consequence as the Social War, once more endangered the supremacy of Rome. The opportunity was seized by Mithridates, the able King of Pontus on the shores of the Black Sea, to challenge the Roman dominion in Asia Minor, where the inheritance of the kingdom of Pergamus had given Rome a footing. The Samnites, Rome's old enemies, threw themselves vigorously into the Italian revolt, which was at last beaten down by the military skill of Sulla. The war was an exceedingly fierce one, and was in its effects almost as disastrous as that against Hannibal, from the immense slaughter among the younger men who were best fitted to be the fathers of a ruling race. A further physical and moral degeneration was the inevitable result. The aim of the allies was in great part

won by the admission of the bulk of them to the Roman franchise.

The brilliant soldier Sulla was now despatched to deal with Mithridates, who was threatening to make himself master of all Asia Minor. Encouraged by him half Greece rose in revolt against Rome. His armies poured into Greece to support the revolt. Sulla, however, crushed the resistance of the Greeks, defeated the generals of Mithridates at Chaeronea, and forced the king to come to terms. He had to resign all his conquests in Asia Minor, and Sulla returned to Italy to deal after his own fashion with the anarchy which was there raging.

The demagogues had won the upper hand. Before Sulla's departure for the east the anarchy had broken out; an attempt had been made to remove him from his command and give it to Marius; but he had marched on Rome at the head of his army, shattered all opposition, and put to death a number of his leading opponents. But on his departure the party of Marius again became predominant. There was a reign of terror; and though the old general himself soon died, his colleague Cinna held the reins of power. As a statesman Marius had probably been at all times a mere tool of cleverer men. But he understood the business of soldiering; and for military purposes he, when in power as consul, had reorganised the military system in a fashion which produced remarkable political results. The Roman army was organised as a citizen army, in which all citizens were called upon to take their share of service. The organisation continued after the expansion, when the legions were required for service in distant regions. The reorganisation by Marius in effect provided for the establishment of a professional army of men, who were not required to desert their ordinary avocations to serve in the ranks, but whose ordinary avocation was service in the ranks. Thus there was a standing army in a new sense; and a general who had won popularity with his legions, and could command their adherence, was master of the situation if he chose to interfere in politics. This new fact was demonstrated by Sulla when he first marched on

Mithridatic War.

The Marians.

The Marian Military System.

Rome at the head of legions who chose to follow their general rather than to obey the orders of the civil government. Marius in short had prepared the way for concentrating the power of the state in the hands of whatever captain the legions chose to follow.

Sulla commanded the entire devotion of his soldiers. He returned to Italy at the head of an army with which he intended to restore order in accordance with his own views. A battle close to the walls of Rome ended in his complete victory, and made him absolute master. No mercy was shown to the opposite party. There was no official authority in existence. Sulla required that he should be named Dictator, with absolute power of life and death, of legislation, of the whole administration. When the business of massacre was over he proceeded with the business of confiscation. The property seized was for the most part distributed among Sulla's soldiery. He then went on to reconstruct a constitution. Under the new law the Senate recovered its powers. No bill could be submitted to the Assemblies without first receiving its sanction. Its depleted numbers were filled up from the ranks of Sulla's followers, including the richest of the Knights, and the judicial powers which had been bestowed on that body were restored to the Senate. The tribune's office was allowed to survive, but without the power of veto. Having finished what he considered his work, Sulla calmly resigned the Dictatorship, and retired into private life. A year afterwards he died.

There was no possibility of permanence in the Sullan Constitution. Domestic questions really resolved themselves into intrigues for supreme power between individuals who associated themselves with the optimates or with the democratic party as might seem convenient for the time. At first the two most prominent figures are those of Gnaeus Pompeius, a young man who succeeded in acquiring a very high military reputation, and Crassus, who owed his power mainly to his wealth. The republic was engaged in three wars. The one really able member of what had been the Marian party, Sertorius, raised Spain, allied himself with a sort of pirate confederacy whose ships were sweeping the Mediter-

anean, and defied the Roman government. Sertorius proved himself a match for the republican generals, Pompeius and Metellus; but the war was practically brought to an end by his assassination. In the east Mithridates of Pontus renewed the struggle. The successes of the able Roman commander Lucullus were neutralised by the blunders of his lieutenants, and the pirates still held the seas. In Italy a **Sundry Wars.** great revolt of slaves headed by the gladiator Spartacus was with great difficulty suppressed by Crassus. Pompeius returned from Spain at the head of his legions, with the credit of having overthrown Sertorius. Crassus was at the head of the army which had finally crushed Spartacus. Lucullus was still in the east, where he was making himself extremely unpopular with the most influential Romans by reforms in the system of government of the Roman provinces of Asia, that is to say, Western Asia Minor.

Neither Pompeius nor Crassus had any affection for the optimates; they came to an agreement and formed a coalition with the democratic party. They restored the **5. Julius Caesar.** old powers of the Tribunate, including that of introducing bills without the assent of the Senate. But they went no further in the direction of democracy. Pompeius, in fact, inclined to revert to an alliance with the **Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar.** optimates, while Crassus was falling under the influence of young Julius Caesar, who, with his own ends in view, had attached himself to the popular party. Pompeius; however, was strong enough to obtain for himself appointments first for crushing the Pirates, and, when he had accomplished this successfully, for putting an end to the Mithridatic War. This latter commission was practically extended into one for settling the affairs of **Pompey in the East.** the east generally, including therein the annexation of Syria. These various operations kept Pompeius in the east till the year 62 B.C., but before he returned his arrangements had extended the Roman Empire to the Euphrates, and to Armenia; though within those boundaries some dependent princes were recognised. Beyond the Euphrates the Parthian dominion was acknowledged. Egypt was the one civilised

state which was not yet formally included in the Roman dominion.

During the absence of Pompeius in the east, Rome was able to congratulate herself on the suppression of a great conspiracy of the extreme section of the popular party. Neither Crassus nor Caesar can be proved to have taken a share in the schemes of Catiline, though both were strongly suspected of complicity. Catiline, however, appears to have aimed simply at a violent revolution with a redistribution of property as its main object. Such a design could not have been favourably viewed by Crassus, and could hardly have appealed to the ambitions of Caesar. The plot was betrayed; Catiline's followers rose in arms, but they were few in number, and were crushed after a fierce engagement in which no quarter was given. Catiline himself fell in the fight, and those of his party who were captured were executed by a stretching of the prerogatives of the Senate, against which Caesar duly protested. Nevertheless, the great orator Cicero, who was consul at the time, was careful emphatically to acquit Caesar of any complicity.

The nomination of Pompey to the extraordinary commands of the east, carrying with them almost unprecedented powers, was a long step towards the creation of a military monarchy; although Pompey himself had no inclination to grasp at empire. At the moment of Pompey's return Caesar departed to Spain as propraetor; on his return he found Pompey had failed to please any of the parties of the state, and he promptly drew both Pompey and Crassus into alliance with himself. With their support he succeeded, having secured the consulship, in passing measures calculated to secure the support of the populace and of the Equestrian Order; while for himself he secured the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul for five years on the termination of his consulship. This command was subsequently extended for a second period of five years. These years were occupied in the steady subjugation of the whole of Gaul, and two incidental visits to the shores of Britain, where however he made no attempt at a conquest. Meanwhile, Crassus received a five years' command in the east,

where his armies were destroyed by the Parthians and he himself perished. A breach developed and widened between Caesar and Pompey, who now saw the man whom he had regarded as a useful assistant growing into a dangerous rival.

In Caesar's absence the Senatorial party and Pompey were more and more drawn together by their common fear of Caesar. Caesar's governorship terminated nine months before he could again be elected to the consulship. But also there was no means of filling up the governorship, which he **Party** would naturally continue to hold until a new **Intrigues.** appointment could be made. The optimates attempted by a technical device to compel Caesar to return to Rome before the consular election. This would have placed him at their mercy. Finally, when Caesar found that unless he could dictate his own terms at the head of his own troops his destruction was certain, he set the law at defiance and marched his legions across the Rubicon, the stream which was the boundary of his province, into Italy proper.

Rome lay at his mercy, but Pompey hurried across the Adriatic and summoned the provincial armies to crush the 'enemy of the republic.' In the war which **Triumph of** followed, Caesar overthrew Pompey at the battle **Caesar, 48 B.C.** of Pharsalia. The defeated general fled to Egypt whence he still hoped to make head against his rival, but even as he stepped on shore he was slain by the dagger of an assassin.

When Caesar had marched on Rome, and Pompey had withdrawn across the Adriatic, Caesar had thought it best, before starting on his campaign against Pompey, to make a swift descent on Spain, which was quickly brought into submission. Now though Pompey was slain, the Pompeians rallied in Africa. Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, was making trouble in Asia, and insurrections were threatening in all quarters. Caesar had pursued his rival to Egypt only to learn of his assassination. Delayed there for a time, he marched against Pharnaces whom he crushed. Thence he hurried back to Italy where his combined vigour and leniency rapidly quelled the threatening disturbance. Then he crossed to Africa, where he utterly shattered

the forces of the Pompeians at Thapsus. Again he returned to Rome; but Spain rose in revolt, led by one of Pompey's sons, against the governor whom he had previously left in charge. Again, therefore, Caesar had to take the field, and finally overthrew his enemies at the battle of Munda, one of the hardest fought engagements in which he ever took part. Once more he returned to Rome, but with the prospect before him of having to lead the forces of the empire against the Parthians. He was publicly offered a royal crown; but, gauging the popular sentiment, he refused what he was doubtless willing to accept.

But the rule of a single man was traditionally hateful to the Romans; a conspiracy was formed partly of enthusiasts, who **Murder of Caesar, 44 B. C.** imagined that a republic meant liberty and monarchy meant slavery; partly of ambitious men who hoped to profit by revolution; and partly of those whom mere party spirit impelled to the overthrow of a triumphant opponent. On March 15th, Caesar was assassinated, and once more the Roman world was rent with civil broils.

Five years passed between the crossing of the Rubicon and the death of Caesar. During those years he had conducted a campaign in Spain, another in the Grecian peninsula, another in Asia, another in Africa, and yet another in Spain. **What Caesar did.** His political work was done in the intervals. He had only begun the mighty task which he had set himself. In the years that followed his death, what he had accomplished appeared to be wiped out. Nevertheless, he had created the Roman Empire. He had designed the edifice, and it was on the foundations he had laid that his adopted son raised the great structure. His supreme genius triumphed in spite of his death. The old order was ended. A restoration of the Senatorial power was impossible. An absolute monarchy ruling through constitutional forms, treating the empire as a Commonwealth, not as a mere appanage of the Imperial city, was to replace the old system. Hitherto, the triumph of one leader over another had meant the triumph of a party, and had been turned to account to penalise the members of the opposing party. Caesar, though he had risen to power as a democrat, discarded partisanship when he grasped supreme dominion.

He crushed the enemies who were in arms against him; but when they were crushed he pardoned them, and forgot that they had been his enemies, with a magnanimity to which they did not respond. To gain power he had not been ashamed to employ the arts of the demagogue; having won it, he used it for the public welfare without fear or favour. He was master, and his mastery enforced even-handed justice.

Even during the brief periods of time that Caesar was able to pass in Rome, his hand was felt in every department of government. He was appointed Perpetual Dictator, **Caesar's** and all the officers of state became his nominees; **Measures.** but the appointments, including his own, were made in accordance with republican forms. He reorganised the Senate, adding to it large numbers of the non-Senatorial class. He limited the system of free distribution of corn, into which the cheap distribution initiated by Gracchus had degenerated. But for the purposes of the new empire the most important changes he introduced concerned the provinces. He successfully carried out that planting of large colonies of Roman citizens of which Gracchus had dreamed, and he extended the Roman citizenship among the provincials themselves. But, most important of all, the irresponsibility of provincial governors was brought to an end. Under the republican system the provincial governorships followed upon offices held in Rome as a matter of course; and the governors were prone simply to use their term of office for the replenishment of their own pockets. Now the governors were selected and appointed by Caesar himself, and were responsible to Caesar for doing their duty in the governorship. Lastly, both in the provinces and the army subordinate officers were appointed by Caesar himself, and were responsible to him instead of being the creatures of generals and proconsuls.

Caesar's two principal officers in Italy at the time of his murder were Lepidus and Marcus Antonius. But among the men whom he had nominated for governorships were not a few of the conspirators, and no man could tell into whose hands the supreme power would now fall. To these various candidates for power was added the youthful Octavianus, whom Caesar had adopted as his heir. The conspirators intended to restore the

Senatorial republic; Anthony intended to grasp for himself the succession to Caesar. A civil war was soon raging, **The Rivalry for Empire.** in which Anthony, Lepidus, and Octavian formed a coalition against the party of the conspirators headed by Brutus and Cassius. The Triumvirate, as the three who had joined together were called, crushed Brutus and Cassius at the two battles of Philippi, and parcelled out the empire between them. Anthony took the east, Octavian took the west, and Lepidus had to be content with the province of Africa—that which had been constructed out of the Carthaginian domain. But such a partition could not endure. Lepidus counted for nothing; but neither Octavian nor Anthony was satisfied, and war broke out between them. Anthony had fallen completely under the spell of Cleopatra, the Queen of Egypt. Octavian had, in his loyal friend and favourite Agrippa, a first-rate commander as well as an exceedingly capable minister. Anthony's fleets were overwhelmed in a great sea-fight at Actium, and when the victorious Octavian pursued him to Egypt both he and Cleopatra slew themselves.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

AFTER the death of Anthony and Cleopatra, Egypt was formally annexed to the Roman dominion, and Octavian returned to Rome the undisputed lord of the whole civilised world. In effect Rome claimed to rule over all Europe west of the River Rhine or south of the River Danube; over Asia as far as the Euphrates, leaving out Arabia; over Egypt and Northern Africa between the deserts and the Mediterranean Sea.

Honours and titles were conferred on the victor by the Senate. The personal title of Augustus is the one by which he is henceforth distinguished, though it was conferred also on his successors. The title of Emperor, implying the supreme military authority, became permanently established and still survives in the form of Emperor. The family name of Caesar was also retained by all his successors. But Augustus preferred to give prominence to titles which did not imply power but did imply dignity; therefore he was known as Princeps, meaning probably the 'first citizen'; and it is now customary to apply the term Principate to the Imperial Office during the earlier period. Later, when the military character of the government became more prominent, the military title of Imperator displaced that of Princeps.

It was the business of Augustus to establish the system of which the design had been outlined and the foundations laid by Julius Caesar. But Julius had challenged hostility by his open assumption of absolute authority. Augustus saw that the

absolute authority was necessary, but that it must be veiled. He must present himself merely as the first citizen, temporarily endowed with exceptional powers for the good of the state, to be laid down when their exercise was no longer necessary. The Senate was treated officially as the seat of authority. And to the Senate were practically transferred by degrees the powers of the Assemblies; but, as a matter of fact, the princeps held the Senate in the hollow of his hand. It was filled partly by those who had held the magistracies, partly by nominees of the princeps; but since he also nominated for the magistracies candidates who were invariably elected, the great bulk of the senators were people who owed their rank to the emperor; and in course of time he acquired the right of removing the senators from the list.

But beyond this he had conferred upon him the tribunician power by which he could initiate or veto legislation, and the proconsular power which gave him the control of the armies of the state. This requires some explanation. The provinces were divided into three groups: the Senatorial provinces, the Imperial provinces, and recently acquired territories such as Egypt and Judea, which were theoretically attached to what we may call the Crown, the princeps taking the place of the deposed dynasty. Now the Senatorial provinces were those which had long formed a portion of the Roman dominion; they were, so to speak, the inner circle, within which no foreign hostile powers existed; they needed no armies. But the outer circle or frontier provinces, unlike the inner circle, required armies for defence, as well as, on occasion, for aggression. The proconsul had command of the armies in his province, but the princeps was himself appointed proconsul of all these provinces which were in fact ruled by his legati or lieutenants. The third group of which we have spoken were similarly ruled by the emperor's viceroys or lieutenants called Praefecti or Procuratores. Thus all the actual armies of the state were entirely outside the control of the Senate, and within the control of the princeps.

At first these armies consisted of the regular Roman legions composed of Roman citizens, and of an approximately equal number of local levies. It will be convenient to remember that in numbers the legion corresponded roughly to what we call a brigade, divided into cohorts which were the equivalent of regiments. But whereas with us a brigade is a group of regiments, with the Romans the cohort was a division of the legion. The legion was the unit, whereas with us the regiment is the unit.

The Armies.

Of very great importance also was the institution of a privileged body of troops called the Praetorian Guard, under an officer called the prefect, who held his appointment from the princeps. This was theoretically the force behind the government for the control of the capital. But it was the one powerful military body at the headquarters of government; and it was not long before it found itself able to exercise a decisive control, whenever it was disposed to intervene, on the succession to the Principate.

The Praetorian Guard.

This then was the organisation which made the princeps absolute master of the whole Roman state. Its weakest point lay in what was at the outset the necessity of pretending that Augustus had saved and restored the republic, which Anthony had threatened to transform into an oriental despotism. The despotism of Augustus had to pass itself off as nothing more than a temporary authority conferred on an individual to deal with a prolonged emergency. In the nature of things Augustus was barred from making open provision for the establishment of a dynasty; and matters were made worse by the failure of heirs of his body, and the difficulty of arriving at any principle for establishing the course of succession. At his death the problem was solved for the time by the fact that his kinsman Tiberius was associated with him in the possession of the tribunician and proconsular powers, so that if any attempt had been made to resist his succession he could have secured it by force. Theoretically, the succession went by the election of the Senate; practically, if the Praetorian Guard had a mind to override the election of

The Succession to the Principate.

the Senate they could do so; and a time came when the legions in distant provinces put forward their own candidates when it seemed good to them to do so. The strongest title, however, generally lay, as in the case of Tiberius, with some one who had been associated with the emperor, at the time of his death, in the possession of the tribunician and proconsular powers.

Augustus sought to use his power for the welfare of the state. Except on the frontiers the Roman Empire was at peace. The Augustan age is proverbial as the period when Roman literature and art were at their best. Augustus fell far short of the unmatched genius of the great Julius Caesar; but he was patient, cautious, resolute, and clear-headed, and was endowed with a tact which rarely failed. In Maecenas he had a minister whose tact was still more conspicuous, and in Agrippa one of supreme integrity, of an organising skill which matched his own, and of the highest military ability. Hardly less valuable were the services of Tiberius, who ultimately succeeded him as emperor.

The accession of Tiberius was undisputed, though accompanied by a formal show of reluctance on his part. His rule lasted for something over twenty years, and he succeeded in acquiring a particularly evil name. Roman society was exceedingly corrupt, and most corrupt was the Court. In his last years Tiberius himself sank to the most repulsive debauchery. Rome swarmed with informers who lived on rewards for bringing charges of treason against their neighbours, and the system was practically encouraged by the emperor. But Tiberius is judged by the hideous state of affairs at Rome. A morose tyrant within his immediate surroundings, Tiberius nevertheless was no bad ruler of the empire as a whole. His real statesmanship had been proved before he assumed the Imperial Purple. But he died—probably he was murdered—in A.D. 37; and until the sceptre was seized by Vespasian in A.D. 70, it is impossible to find a word of praise for any one of the six emperors who intervened, except perhaps Galba, who was merely incompetent. Tiberius

Rule of Augustus,
B.C. 29-
A.D. 14.

Tiberius,
A.D. 14.

His six Successors.

was succeeded by his great-nephew Gaius, who is familiarly known as Caligula; who was a madman. He was murdered and was succeeded by his uncle Claudius, who was feeble-minded. Claudius was succeeded by Nero, who stands for all time as the type of a bloodthirsty tyrant. Galba, an aged general, led his legions from Spain to overthrow the tyrant, who perished by his own hand. But Galba was overthrown by the praetorians who made Otho emperor. Otho was overthrown by the troops of Vitellius, and Vitellius was overthrown by Vespasian.

Every Emperor down to Nero had become a member of the Imperial family by adoption. Augustus himself had been adopted by Julius Caesar, and had adopted his own step-son **The Julian** Tiberius, and so on. This group therefore are called **Emperors.** the Julian Emperors. The principal extension of frontiers which took place during their rule was the partial conquest of Britain under Claudius. Attempts were made by frontier officers to conquer more German territory, but these attempts were successfully resisted by the Teutonic Tribes under the leadership of the chief whom the Romans called Arminius. Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, all owed their election to the Praetorian Guard. The first was chosen because he was the son of a popular soldier who was supposed to have been foully done to death. The second was caught hiding behind a curtain and was acclaimed emperor half in jest. For the third, Nero, the support of the praetorian officers had been secured beforehand. The wars following on Nero's deposition, ended by the accession of Vespasian, gave a more military turn to the supreme government; since the successful emperor had no possible claim to the succession except the fact that he was the chosen candidate of the legions he commanded in the east.

Titus Flavius Vespasianus was of plebeian birth, but he was an able soldier and a shrewd man of business. He restored order, and stopped the extreme corruption which prevailed in the heart of the empire. His reign is notable for the destruction of Jerusalem by his son **The Flavian** Titus, and the scattering of the Jews, who preserved their unity as a separate people whithersoever they might be driven, but **Emperors,** **A.D. 70-96.**

never again possessed a National habitation. Vespasian was followed by his two sons Titus and Domitian in succession. Titus in his brief reign of two years won popularity by his lavish generosity, but Domitian developed into a cruel tyrant. With his murder ended the Flavian dynasty.

The empire had now been in existence for about a century and a quarter. Now for nearly a century ruled the five good emperors. They were not the choice of the legions, but of the Senate; nor were they Italians. The first, Nerva, was of a Cretan family. He was already an old man, and in himself he had neither the vigour nor the reputation needed to make his position a strong one. But he at once took the shrewd step of adopting as his heir the great general Trajan, who held the command in the provinces on the Rhine.

Trajan's great abilities and high character were well known. In view of his inevitable succession, the strength of Nerva was the strength of Trajan. But little more than a year elapsed before Nerva died, and Trajan reigned in his stead.

Trajan was of Spanish origin, but he was a representative of the best type of Roman. With high abilities and reputation as a soldier, with great ambition to extend the empire of which he was the head, he was also a man of unusual personal virtue, with a resolute determination to do justice and maintain law. Trajan extended the empire across the Danube where he created the new frontier province of Dacia. His last years were spent in an unfortunate attempt to carry the arms of Rome beyond the Euphrates into the Parthian dominion. He did indeed set up a new province, but he died without making his conquest effective. He was succeeded without demur

by his kinsman and lieutenant Hadrian, who wisely declined to retain this latest addition to an empire already sufficiently large, and also again withdrew the Roman legions behind the Danube; though not until he had demonstrated to the insurgent tribes of the Dacians that Rome had the power to smite them though she had not the inclination to expend her energies in governing them. Hadrian was especially distinguished by the fact that during his reign he succeeded in

visiting personally every portion of his empire from Britain itself to the confines of Parthia. He proved himself a great ruler, though the irritability of a painful disease led him in his last years to sundry acts of personal tyranny.

He had adopted, or in other words nominated as his successor, Antoninus Pius, who in his turn adopted Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. For a time the world was governed by **The** two emperors, who were also philosophers; and **Antonines.** perhaps better governed than at any other period. The two Antonines made the welfare of their subjects their primary aim, and made no attempt to expand the empire; though Marcus Aurelius himself was constantly compelled to wage war on the frontiers against the wild tribes which were now pressing southwards and westwards with increasing vigour, impelled forwards by the still wilder tribes behind them.

Here we must pause to observe that the establishment of the Roman Empire was silently accompanied by an unsuspected revolution of no less importance even in the political **2. Chris-** history of the world. This was the birth and growth **tianity.** of Christianity. The Roman state tolerated all religions. It permitted the worship of all manner of gods as freely as we do to-day in our vast empire. But the one thing it would not tolerate was a religion directed against the authority of the state, and it was the conviction that Christianity sought to subvert the state which led to the persecution of the professors of the new faith. The years of our Lord's ministry in Judaea fell in the latter part of the reign of Tiberius. Outside Judaea itself the new teaching attracted little attention from the rulers. It was addressed mainly to the humbler classes, and was not readily intelligible to those who were not familiar with Jewish doctrines. Its austere morality, while it appealed intensely to **Unpopularity** the noblest types of mind, was irritating to a society **of** which, given over to sensual indulgence and devoid **Christians.** of spiritual ideals, was at the same time the ready victim of the grossest superstitions. The doctrine of a brotherhood as open to the slave as to the free man was incredible; the practice of the community of goods was intolerable. If the state tolerated all religions it did not trouble itself to prevent the private perse-

cution of a religious body, and the Christians were always subjected to a severe social persecution. But they began also to be charged by their enemies with the commission of foul crimes in the performance of their religious rites, and rumours were spread abroad that their doctrines were subversive of all social and political order. When a great part of the city of Rome was destroyed by a terrific fire in the reign of the emperor Nero, it was easy to lay the guilt upon the obscure followers of the unpopular sect.

The state tolerated all religion, but it had introduced a new religion of its own by deifying the emperors and the state itself.

Reasons for Persecution. This worship was purely formal. It meant no more than taking an oath of allegiance means to-day.

The Jews had obtained exemption, the authorities having grasped the fact that to them it was a religious act absolutely irreconcilable with the Jewish faith, while that faith could be held without disloyalty to the empire. But readiness to offer sacrifices to the deities officially recognised by the state was an easy test of loyalty; when Christians were charged with disloyalty the test was applied, and when the Christians rejected it, a conviction was soon established that Christianity implied disloyalty. Governors who realised that the Christian attitude was precisely the same as that of the Jews, and that the Christians were not a danger to the state, resisted the pressure which was brought upon them to act with severity; but there were periodical panics when the government became possessed with the idea that the Christians were a secret society of anarchists, and when this happened severe persecutions were let loose. It is melancholy to report that the first persecution set on foot by direct authority of the emperor took place under Marcus Aurelius himself, whose writings are treasured by Christians to this day.

In spite of the constant social persecution and the occasional persecution by the state, the followers of the Christian faith increased and multiplied steadily. There was a

Continued Progress of Christianity. leaven of Christian morality in the midst of the general corruption. Owing to a misconception

Christianity was beginning to be feared as a political force; but more than a century was still to elapse before it actually became

one, on lines entirely different from anything that had been anticipated.

Marcus Aurelius was succeeded by his son Commodus, one of the worst emperors in the whole series, a painful contrast to his great father. After a few years of debauchery and tyranny he was murdered; and there was a scramble for the throne among the leaders of the legions, just as there had been on the fall of Nero. Success fell to Septimius Severus, a soldier who claimed to be of Carthaginian descent. Severus was carried into office by the legions of Pannonia, the frontier province lying between Italy and the Danube, where the troops were now composed to an immense extent of barbarians, in other words tribes mainly Teutonic. This was owing to a step which Marcus Aurelius had found himself compelled to take. It had been necessary hastily to enrol a large number of recruits. Theoretically, the legions could only be recruited from Roman citizens; consequently, the bestowal of citizenship had accompanied enlistment. Hence, it was habitually the case from this time that the hardest legions with the most experience in war and the most effective power of deciding succession to the empire were in fact largely made up of barbarians.

**3. The
Later
Empire.**

**Enlistment
of
Barbarians.**

Severus proved a vigorous emperor, but his energies were chiefly devoted to warfare on the frontiers. Like Hadrian he visited both the east and the west, and died at York. His son and successor Caracalla was notable for his vices and his cruelties, and also for having at one stroke bestowed Roman citizenship on all the provincials.

One emperor after another succeeded by the favour of the legions. In A.D. 249 their choice was Decius, in whom we find once more a member of a family which had been famous in the days of the Roman republic. His reign was brief, and was notable for a severe persecution of the Christians. Throughout this third century of the Christian era the barbarians were bursting in over the frontiers. The appearance begins of the Franks of whom we shall hear more later; of the Allemanni, who supplied one of the general names applied to the German tribes; and of the Goths,

Decius, 249.

**The Bar-
barians.**

who appear to have been closely akin to the Danes and Norsemen of a later period. But it was not only the Teutonic hordes that were surging against the barriers of the empire; in the far east the Persians, long subject to the Parthians, had succeeded in flinging off the yoke and setting up a new empire under the dynasty called the Sassanidae. The empire had need to choose soldiers for its emperors.

Decius was the first who actually fell in the field. Valerian was made captive and slain by the Persian monarch. Another Emperor Claudius inflicted a great rout on the Goths. He was succeeded by another stout soldier, Aurelian, by birth an Illyrian peasant. He also checked the Goths, and after a brief interval was succeeded by another soldier, Probus, also an Illyrian, who fought successfully against Goths and Persians. And then among the many dim names belonging to this period, in which a reign of more than two or three years was an exception, emerges that of Diocletian, a Dalmatian soldier who had risen from the ranks by sheer force of character and ability. The time had come when a great change in the Imperial system had become necessary; it was the work of Diocletian to reorganise the empire.

Three centuries had passed since the first establishment of the Roman Empire by Augustus on the foundations laid by Julius Caesar, twenty-seven years before the Christian era began. The period can be conveniently divided into three sections of almost equal length, each of which has certain special characteristics. The Julian emperors ruled from B.C. 27 to A.D. 69. The Imperial system was established in the first half of this time by the ability of Augustus and Tiberius so firmly that it survived the follies, vices and crimes of the emperors during the second half, including therein the last years of Tiberius. From 70 A.D. to 180, the whole series, with the one exception of Domitian, were rulers to whom the Roman world owed a debt of gratitude; they rank among the ablest princes in history. Probably the administration throughout the empire was consistently better than at any other time. The third period dates from the accession of Commodus in 180 A.D. to the accession of Diocletian in 284.

During the whole of this time there was only one emperor who ruled for more than thirteen years, and only two others who ruled so long. The average reign was under five years. The rulers of this series with the exception of Commodus are known as the praetorian emperors, because all were raised to the purple by the legions. Throughout this period the barbarians were becoming more and more actively aggressive, and the emperors were more and more engaged personally on frontier warfare instead of in controlling the administration of the empire. Rome itself practically ceased to have any importance except of a purely sentimental character, and the Roman citizenship was extended to all the races dwelling within the empire's boundaries.

The high morality and the austere religion which all tradition ascribes to the Ancient Romans who raised their city to be the first in Italy had long vanished; nothing had taken **Religion** its place except the somewhat dreary austerity of **and Morals.** the Stoic philosophers, which appealed to a few cultivated minds. But below the surface, and mainly among the humbler ranks of society, the leaven of Christianity was spreading, strengthening and stiffening the moral fibre of large classes of the community in proportion to the courage demanded of all adherents to the faith. The next period was to witness a reaction. After one more shock of persecution, the fiercest which had ever befallen it, the Christian religion was to become suddenly dominant and fashionable; not a faith held with a passionate conviction which craved rather than shunned the crown of martyrdom, but a creed which was professed as a matter of course; of which the regenerative force was destroyed when it was accepted as a convention instead of a vital inspiration.

Diocletian must have been endowed with an exceptionally powerful personality. After the first contest for supremacy with a son of his predecessor who died by the hand of an assassin, no rival attempted to challenge the authority of the **Diocletian.** new emperor. More than this, he could venture to associate with himself a colleague of equal authority, and subsequently two more colleagues whose powers were scarcely less, and yet while doing so he could retain a complete moral

ascendency over the others. Later still he could even resign the Imperial authority altogether with a certainty that he could resume it to the universal satisfaction if he should see fit to do so. Diocletian in fact saw that an empire having so vast a line of **Partition of the Empire.** frontier open to attack by vast and ever-increasing masses of foes could not possibly be administered effectively by one man. He parted the empire into four great divisions: the eastern, which included Rome and Asia and Egypt, with the Thracian portion of the eastern European peninsula; two central divisions, which included the rest of Greece, Illyria, Italy, and North Africa; and a western division, which comprised Britain, Gaul, and Spain. The eastern division he took into his own charge, while retaining only a very general supremacy over the colleagues to whom the other three divisions were entrusted.

Diocletian and his senior colleague bore the title of Augustus, while the two juniors were called Caesars. Each had his own capital; all the four men were Illyrians. The western Caesar was Constantius, whose son Constantine ultimately became sole emperor. The four emperors were all capable rulers and able soldiers, and for the time the new machinery worked effectively. After nearly twenty years, all with the exception of Constantius, joined in a fierce persecution of the Christians. In this, however, Constantius himself refused to participate. Helena, the

Rise of Constantine. mother of his son Constantine, was actually a Christian. At the end of twenty years the two Augusti resigned. Constantius died, and was succeeded by Constantine as western Caesar. Before long, however, acute rivalries arose

4. The Christian Empire, 312 A.D. among various claimants to the titles of Augustus and Caesar. This led to a war between Constantine and one of the claimants Maxentius, which was

terminated by the decisive battle of the Milvian Bridge in the neighbourhood of Rome. According to his own statement Constantine himself had seen in the heavens a flaming cross bearing the legend, 'Under this standard thou shalt conquer.' It is doubtful whether it can be properly said that Constantine became Christian. But a year after the victory which had made him acknowledged master of the western half of the empire, he

issued an edict which not only sanctioned the practice of the Christian religion, but promised it Imperial protection. The east passed for a time to Licinius. It was Constantine's intention to reconcile Christianity and Paganism; but now that Christianity met with official favour and encouragement, he found it difficult enough to produce harmony among the Christians themselves. But before long Licinius declared against Christianity. A sharp struggle arose, in which Constantine appeared decisively as the champion of Christianity; Licinius was crushed, and in A.D. 323 Constantine became sole emperor.

From this time Christianity must be regarded as the established religion of an empire in which Paganism was tolerated. From this time also the emperor himself becomes more like an oriental despot and less like a Roman emperor. Moreover, a new oriental Rome took the place of the old Italian Rome as the Imperial headquarters. Rome indeed had long ceased to occupy that position definitely, but no other city had taken its place. Diocletian had generally treated as his own capital Nicomedia on the Sea of Marmora; Constantine made the old Greek colony of Byzantium into his new Rome which he called Constantinople, the city of Constantine. Rome herself was to acquire a new significance as the seat of the pontiff, who claimed to be the supreme spiritual head of all Christendom. But Constantinople was from henceforth the political capital of the empire. The western regions were provinces over which it exercised less and less control.

Although on the death of Constantine the empire was for a short time divided among his three sons, it was reunited under one of them, Constantius, and it continued to recognise one emperor until the death of Theodosius in A.D. 395. Through the greater part of the next century there was one emperor of the east and another of the west. Then the western emperors disappeared, but the real dominion had passed to the conquering barbarians. A little more than four centuries after the death of Theodosius another emperor was to be crowned at Rome as the successor of the Caesars, but he was already the lord of the nations which had grown up in the

west wholly outside the control of the successors of Caesar in the east.

Christianity had conquered, but Christendom was divided between adherents of the orthodox faith and the followers of the Arian heresy, which denied the complete divinity of Christ. This division played a part of some importance in the wars of these centuries, when the barbarian races claimed that they were fighting under the Arian or under the Orthodox banner.

During the whole of the fourth century the empire succeeded in holding back the flood of the barbaric invaders in the far east and in the Greek and Italian peninsulas.

But as the political centre of the empire had moved to the east its power of self-defence on the west diminished. Teutonic tribes broke into Gaul and swept through it into Spain.

The most famous of these groups were the Vandals, who were near kinsmen of the Goths. The Goths who were now settled along the line of the Danube were themselves being attacked in the rear by an entirely different race, the Huns, who belonged to the same group as Tartars, Turks, and Mongols. About the end of the fourth century, Alaric the Goth resolved to carve a dominion for himself out of the Roman Empire. For some time he met his match in the great general of the Imperial armies Stilicho in Italy. Stilicho himself was a Vandal, and the Roman legions now were for the most part composed not of Romans at all but of barbarian mercenaries. But the two sons of Theodosius, Honorius and Arcadius, were now emperors of west and east respectively; Honorius was persuaded to believe that Stilicho was a traitor.

The great soldier was executed, and Alaric fell upon Rome almost unopposed. For the first time since the ancient Gallic invasion, the Eternal City was sacked by a foreign foe in 410 A.D. It is curious to observe, however, that there was still a glamour about the Roman Empire which exercised an extraordinary influence over the barbarians. Alaric demanded not to set up an empire of his own, but to rule with the title of Commander-in-Chief of the Roman armies. He himself died very shortly after the sack of Rome, and his suc-

cessor Athaulf led the Goths out of Italy again into Gaul and thence westwards, where they established a great dominion over the south-west of France and the greater part of Spain.

The Vandals in Spain were driven before them and evacuated the country, satisfying themselves by taking possession of the province of Africa. Another Teutonic group, the Franks, established themselves over most of the rest of Gaul; and another group, the Burgundians, settled in the south-eastern part of Gaul. Towards the middle of the fifth century, the Huns, under their terrible chief Attila, threatened to carry their devastating arms all over Europe.

**Teutonic
Movements.**

Attila, 450.

Attila however received a severe check at what is called the battle of Chalons, at the hands of the combined forces of the West Goths or Visi-Goths, the Franks, and the Imperial armies commanded by Aëtius. Attila died soon afterwards; the armies of the Huns were broken up and rolled back, and we hear no more of them.

All this time Italy was in a state of chaos under the nominal rule of a series of incompetent emperors, while the real power lay in the hands of the Teutonic masters of the legions. At last the western emperors disappeared altogether, when the young Romulus Augustulus was deposed by Odoacer, called the Herulian, who got himself formally acknowledged as the official ruler of Italy under the Emperor Zeno at Constantinople, with the title of 'Patrician' in 479 A.D.

Odoacer, 479.

Seventy years earlier Britain had passed out of the Roman dominion. The Roman troops and the Roman government had been withdrawn, owing to the hopeless impossibility of maintaining control in remote regions; and about the middle of the fifth century had begun the conquest of Britain by still another Teutonic group, the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK III., 200 B.C. TO 476 A.D.

GUIDING DATES

	B.C.		A.D.
Battle of Cynoscephalae	197	Conquest of Britain . . .	41
Battle of Magnesia . . .	190	Nero	54
Battle of Pydna	168	Flavian Emperors	70-96
Carthage destroyed	146	Trajan	98
Tiberius Gracchus	133	Hadrian	117
Gaius Gracchus	123-121	The Antonines	138-193
Defeat of Cimbri and Teutones	102	Praetorian Emperors	193-284
Social War	91-89	Aurelian	270
Sullan Constitution	81	Diocletian	284
First Triumvirate	60	Battle of Milvian Bridge	312
Caesar crosses the Rubicon	49	Constantine sole Emperor	323
Caesar assassinated	44	Council of Nicaea	325
Battle of Actium	31	Julian the Apostate	360
Augustus Emperor	27	Partition of Empire	395
	A.D.	Alaric	410
Arminius defeats Romans	9	Attila	450
Tiberius	14-37	End of Western Empire	476

LEADING NAMES

Philip—Flamininus—Antiochus—Aemilius Paullus—Scipio Africanus
 Minor—Tiberius Gracchus—Gaius Gracchus—Jugurtha—Marius—
 Mithridates—Sulla—Pompey—Crassus—Catiline—Julius Caesar—
 Antonius—Octavian—Agrippa—Tiberius—Caligula—Claudius—Nero
 —Vespasian—Trajan—Hadrian—Marcus Aurelius—Septimius Severus
 —Decius—Aurelian—Probus—Diocletian—Constantine—Julian
 —Theodosius—Alaric—Aëtius—Attila—Odoacer.

NOTES

The Imperial Republic. Rome had made herself an Imperial city state in Italy and Sicily, and had overthrown her rival in the west, Carthage. Now she suddenly expanded into a conquering World Power. But the system of city government, even modified as it had been in Italy, was inadequate to the strain of extended empire which tended to convert successful commanders into masters instead of servants of the republic, while it had a corrupting effect on the governors of remote and wealthy provinces. A government founded on Militarism was necessary to the control of the extended empire over subject peoples, and Militarism required a supreme controller of the armies—that is, an absolute monarchy. Until this was brought about, the supreme government became more and more unstable. The creation of the new system was the work of Julius Caesar, though it was not given permanent shape till the end of the struggle between Anthony and Octavius.

Peoples of Western Europe. Before the coming of the Celts, it is probable that most of the races inhabiting Spain, France, and our islands belonged to one Pre-Aryan group called the Iberian. When the Celts or Gauls came, they absorbed the Iberians without exterminating them in the British Isles and in France; but in Spain the Iberian element predominated over the Celtic. The Punic war caused Spain to be the first Latinised by Roman conquest. France or Gaul was conquered by Julius Caesar, and also became rapidly Latinised. Across the channel, the Romans a century later conquered what we now call England (not Scotland or Ireland), but were satisfied with a military occupation; the people were never thoroughly Latinised, and after the withdrawal of the legions at the beginning of the fifth century, the Latin veneer disappeared. The first incursion of the next great Aryan division, the Teutones or Germans, was checked by Marius; and for four centuries these races were held back behind the Danube and the Rhine. Then the Vandals and Goths broke through the barrier and established themselves in the south of France, in Spain, and in Italy. Here, however, the people were so thoroughly Latinised that they Latinised the invaders, and also the later Teutonic groups of Franks, Burgundians, and Lombards; the Gallic or Iberian elements predominated among the people at large, and the popular languages became not German modified by Latin but Latin modified by German.

Slavery. Through the entire period of ancient history—usually reckoned as ending with the disappearance of a Roman emperor from Italy—the whole structure of society rested on the basis of slavery. From Hammurabi to Justinian, slavery was a recognised institution in Babylon and Athens and Rome alike, as it was in Egypt. The more complicated and elaborate the order of society was, the more prominent was the slave element. An immense proportion of the population consisted of slaves ; that is, persons, male and female, who were as much the property of their owners as sheep and cattle. Captives in war whose lives were spared became in the first instance the slaves of their captors as a matter of course, and the children of slaves continued to be slaves. Slavery also might be the penalty of debt and sometimes of crime. Freedom was obtained either by the deliberate act of the owner in setting the slave free, or by purchasing freedom, as slaves were commonly allowed to acquire property. The bulk of the severest and meanest forms of labour was done by slaves ; and it was a constant grievance of the poorer classes of those who were free that slave labour excluded paid labour, and they themselves were in constant danger of being reduced to slavery by incurring debts which they could not pay. Christianity tended to diminish the rigours of slavery, which in the Middle Ages and in Christian regions was replaced by serfdom, as to which a further note will be found on page 169.

BOOK IV
THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER IX

THE EASTERN EMPIRE AND THE RISE OF MOHAMMEDANISM

THE separate western empire came to an end in 476 with the deposition of Romulus Augustulus, and the formal recognition by the Senate of Zeno as sole emperor in 479. A few years later Odoacer, patrician and king in Italy, was overthrown by Theoderic the Amaling, of the noblest family among the eastern Goths or Ostrogoths. Theoderic acted avowedly as a lieutenant of the empire. He reigned in Italy from 489 till 526. During this time, as we shall see presently, the power of the Franks in the west was rapidly increasing under their king, best known by the name of Clovis. The great question of the future appeared to be whether the Goths or the Franks, or possibly the Langobards, were to be the dominant Teutonic race of the future. In Italy Theoderic made a great effort after unification, ruling with a wide justice and toleration, although his last years were stained by sundry acts of cruelty. He was a statesman, a diplomatist, and a soldier; he had a thorough appreciation of what was good in the Greco-Roman civilisation. Could he have left a successor of equal ability, a great Gothic Empire might have been established; but the Imperial court of Constantinople or Byzantium regarded the powerful Ostrogoths with alarm, and encouraged the Franks as their rivals.

About the time of the death of Theoderic, the Imperial sceptre passed to the great Emperor Justinian. He is generally regarded, in accordance with tradition, as having been of Slavonic origin; the emperors now habitually sprang from stocks which were

neither Greek nor Roman. The organisation of the Gothic kingdom in Italy was falling to pieces. It was the ambition of

Belisarius. Justinian to restore the ancient empire with its old boundaries. His armies were led by the great General Belisarius. The first step towards the recovery of empire was the overthrow in Africa of the Vandal kingdom, which was now completely and deservedly wiped out; it had been little more than a nest of brigands and pirates. The next step was to break the supremacy of the Goths in Italy. This was accomplished by the arms of Belisarius, who was then called away to repel the attacks of Mongol hordes who were thrusting themselves across the lower Danube and even threatening the Imperial capital. The Goths renewed the struggle under the chief name Totila, but Belisarius was **Gothic Power** succeeded by a general only less brilliant than **broken.** himself, the Armenian Narses, who crushed Totila and remained to rule Italy under the title of Exarch of Ravenna, which became the seat of government. But this was the last great effort of the Byzantine Empire in Italy. Justinian and Belisarius both died in 565; the new Emperor Justin removed Narses, and Italy was immediately overrun by a **The** fresh swarm of Teutonic invaders, this time the **Lombards.** Langobards or Lombards led by Alboin. An Exarch remained at Ravenna, but thenceforth the Imperial control in Italy was never more than nominal.

It must not be forgotten that what is called the Eastern, Greek, or Byzantine Empire, with its headquarters at Constantinople, was the actual legitimate continuation of the Roman Empire which had sprung up from the Latin city-
2. The Eastern state. The centre had been definitely shifted **Empire.** eastwards in the time of Diocletian and Constantine, and it had assumed a correspondingly oriental character. That is to say it was a blend of eastern and western; but the western element in it was Greek, not Roman. Its effective dominion still extended over Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt, as well as over the Balkan or Grecian peninsula; and it was still nominally recognised as having a very shadowy authority even in the west. But the empire had

failed altogether to hold back the Teutonic flood; it still had to stand as the bulwark of Europe against Slavonic and Mongolian barbarians on the Danube, and the aggressive Persian Empire on the Euphrates; an empire soon to be replaced by a still more dangerous Asiatic foe.

But it was not only the bulwark of Europe, it was also the depository of the old European civilisation and culture; the civilisation and culture corrupted by the oriental admixture, but not shattered, as it had been in the west, by new forces whose civilisation and culture were in a very elementary state. What should astonish is not that the empire fell, but that it endured for a thousand years after the west had been swept from its grasp by the Teutons.

Justinian had made a great and even for the moment a successful effort to stem the barbarian tide in the west. But the success passed. In the long-run its chief **Justinian,** effect was to destroy, for a good deal more than a **527-565.** thousand years, the possibility of Italy being built up into a single united state; she became instead, as we shall see, merely a collection of disunited fragments. But if the victories of Belisarius were barren, the name of Justinian remains famous for his great work in codifying the Roman law; that is, in putting into a permanent and authoritative shape the masses of laws and of judicial interpretations of the law which had been accumulating for centuries. The code of Justinian became the basis of law over the greater part of Europe, England forming almost the only exception.

In the later years of the century the Emperor Maurice successfully held in check the Persian advance. But Slavonic tribes gradually forced their way over the Danube and down the western half of the Balkan peninsula, penetrating Greece, though they submitted to the Byzantine **Slavs,** supremacy. After them pressed Mongol hordes; **Mongols,** the Avars, who had perhaps absorbed the Huns, but were **and Persians.** driven off beyond the line of the Danube; and the Bulgars, who gradually settled themselves in the Danube basin. When Maurice was murdered the Persians advanced on the east; they inundated Syria; they swept into Egypt; they captured

the Holy Land and the sacred places therein. Again, they were swept back by the Emperor Heraclius, and the imminent danger that the empire would be swallowed up by them was averted. But the doom of the Persian dominion was sealed; it was to be destroyed by another power than that of the Greek Empire.

The peninsula of Arabia lay cut off by the deserts from the ordinary course of the world's history. We have seen how, in

the past, it had been presumably the cradle of the
3. Islam. Semitic races which ruled over Syria and Mesopotamia. Once again it was to be the source of a great Semitic invasion. At the close of the fifth century Arabia was the

vassal of Persia. Its peoples seem at intervals in
Arabia. the past to have risen here and there to a comparatively high degree of civilisation, or at least of commercial prosperity. The glories of the Queen of Sheba, who visited the court of King Solomon, are proverbial; and Arabians had probably colonised a part of South-eastern Africa in search of gold, but they had never permanently attained to any high degree of political organisation. Dynasties had ruled among them, sometimes Jewish and sometimes Abyssinian. Debased forms of Judaism and of Christianity were known to them; but for the most part their worship was of a primitive and idolatrous order. Their most revered object of veneration was a black stone called the Kaaba, enshrined in a temple at Mecca. Mecca and Medina were the two principal cities. The bulk of the population were neither townsfolk nor agriculturists, but formed tribes living as nomads with their flocks and herds.

Such was the people among whom arose the prophet whose name was to shake the world. Mohammed was a respectable

person in the service of the wealthy widow Kadija,
Mohammed. who took him completely into her favour, and she married him. When he was forty years old he saw in a vision the angel Gabriel, who instructed him as to the prophetic duties which he had been chosen to accomplish. He was to convert the Arabs to faith in one God, and the shrine of the mystic Kaaba into his shrine. The prophet's doctrine was a conglomeration of Judaism, Christianity, Fatalism, and a materialistic conception of a future life attractive enough

to unspiritual minds. The Judaic and Christian elements were both very much garbled. No doubt he believed in the reality of his mission, and what he taught was something very much higher than the gross superstitions which flourished around him. No doubt he also lost the power of distinguishing between the imaginations which beset him without any conscious activity on his part, and his own deliberate invention. At any rate by slow degrees he began to persuade other people to accept him at his own valuation. When he began publicly to assume the character of a prophet, he found himself unpopular in Mecca, a town whose commercial prosperity depended very largely on its prestige as the guardian of the Kaaba. In Medina, however, his doctrines found a readier acceptance, and thither he migrated in the year 622 A.D., known as the year of the Hejira, that is, the flight. The Mohammedan era dates from the year 622 of the Christian era.

Mohammed's flight from Mecca, 622.

There was a keen rivalry between Medina and Mecca, and Medina began zealously to support the prophet who had found no honour in his own city. Hostility began chiefly in the form of raids on the caravan routes leading to Mecca. Outside of Mecca the prophet's influence gradually increased, and in 630 A.D. he was able suddenly to appear before the Sacred City with an irresistible force. The townspeople submitted, and were at once admitted to favour. The idols were destroyed, but the shrine of the Kaaba was preserved as the Temple of the Most High, and the Kaaba itself as His Symbol. Instead of being the Sacred City of pagan superstition, Mecca became the Holy City of the new faith. Islam defeated the false gods; and the Moslems, as the followers of Mohammed are called, were about to start on a new and terrific career of conquest. Thenceforth also the faithful made pilgrimages to Mecca as the infidels had done before.

Two years later Mohammed died. He left no children except his daughter Fatima, concerning whose husband Ali the prophet, in his last days, had used an expression which some of his followers regarded as an order that Ali should succeed him; out of which there

4. The Kaliphs.

subsequently arose a great disruption in the Moslem world, which split into the two sects of the Fatimites or Shiites and the Sunnites. At the time the prophet's nomination, if such it was, was discarded. The successor or kaliph chosen was Abu Bekr, one of Mohammed's earliest converts and most loyal followers.

After the capture of Mecca, Arabia in general had declared its adherence to the new prophet. Several new prophets, however, now arose; and to crush these was the first business of the kaliph and his captain Khaled. This done, the great project was taken up of propagating the faith by the sword. The Moslem principle was simple. It offered three alternatives: conversion, tribute, or battle. Abu Bekr himself lived only two years longer, but he had already secured the succession to Omar, who may perhaps be called the real hero of Islam.

While Mohammed was establishing himself in Arabia, the Emperor Heraclius had been hurling back the advance of the Persians. It was against Persia that Omar directed his first energies. After a fierce contest the Persian Yesdigerd was driven from the throne, and the Saracen or Arabian dominion was carried far beyond the Tigris. Heraclius could not repeat the great effort which had routed the Persians, and Syria was absorbed piecemeal. Egypt was no better able than Syria to resist the conquerors. At the close of 641 it was in effect conquered when the great city of Alexandria fell, to be replaced as the capital of Egypt by a new city which we know as Cairo.

These astonishing successes were mainly due to the great organising abilities of Omar, who left the fighting to his subordinates, while he built up the structure of the new empire. But when Omar died dissensions arose. The arms of the Saracens met with continued success as they advanced in Africa, thrust into Asia Minor, and established a fleet in the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, the new kaliph, an old man, made himself extremely unpopular with the rigid group of Mohammed's original followers by putting forward a revision of the Koran, the sacred book of the Mohammedan doctrine.

Othman was killed by the adherents of Ali, the prophet's son-in-law, who was proclaimed kaliph. His title was immediately disputed, and he himself was overthrown. **The** There was a struggle for some years between **Ommayads**. Husain, the son of Ali, and the Ommayad family for the kaliphate, which ended in the victory of the Ommayads. The threatened disruption, however, was by no means at an end.

The struggle over the succession did not prevent the Saracens from carrying their arms still further to the east, and westward, along the African coast, till they penetrated into Spain on one side and India on the other, although the time had not yet come for the establishment of Islam in these regions. In the direction of Eastern Europe, however, their conquering career met with a tremendous check in the year 718.

About the middle of the eighth century the rule of the Ommayads in Asia was challenged by a new family, the Abbasides, who were completely victorious and **The** established the brief magnificence of the new **Abbasides**. capital of the kaliphate at Bagdad on the Tigris. In 786 A.D. began the reign of that famous monarch Harun-al-Raschid. Nevertheless, the victory of the Abbasides in the east was promptly followed by the establishment of an opposition kaliphate in the far west by a member of the Ommayad family, Abdur Rahman.

The successors of the Emperor Heraclius, who died in 641 A.D., the year after the conquest of Egypt by the Saracens, present no great names. They saw the Saracens win Africa from their nominal sway, attack Sicily, which was still regarded as part of their dominion, and even assail Constantinople. But that feeble family became extinct; and in the year 717 the great Emperor Leo III., called the **5. The** Isaurian by reason of his race, and the Iconoclast **Isaurian Emperors.** because of his religious policy, succeeded to the Byzantine throne. It was at this moment that the Ommayads were putting forth their greatest effort against the **Islam repulsed** empire. They had overrun Asia Minor, and now **by Leo the** they laid siege to Constantinople. A very few **Isaurian, 717.** years before they had burst into Spain, of which they were

already masters. It seemed now that both from the west and from the east the Cross was to be driven back before the Crescent. But the decisive victory of Leo rolled back the Saracens, as a few years later their attempt to pass the Pyrenees was defeated by the Franks under the command of Charles Martel.

The Byzantine Empire was already greatly reduced in extent. The Saracens had bereft it of Africa, of Egypt, of Syria, and Asia Minor. had left it in possession only of Asia Minor. In fact, its Asiatic dominion did not extend very far beyond the old Lydian dominion at the time of its overthrow by Cyrus. This was the one portion of Western Asia which does not appear ever to have been definitely dominated by the Semites ; and which, since the first coming of the Aryans, had always been subject to western influences. The mountain ranges which had protected it in the past from Nineveh and from Babylon still guarded it from the Saracens. Still, as always before, it was the one region where east and west did meet, so that it would be difficult to say that either definitely dominated over the other.

The Isaurian dynasty provided a series of vigorous rulers, who, besides rolling back the Saracen tide, made an energetic effort in the direction of ecclesiastical reform. The Church and Empire in the East. eastern emperors habitually attempted, not without success, to assert their supremacy over the Church as well as over the state. In the west we shall presently see a great struggle in progress between the spiritual and the temporal powers. In the east no spiritual power had successfully claimed an authority higher than that of the emperor. In the east and in the west alike, the clergy had always derived a degree of power and influence by encouraging practices which were often highly beneficial, as what may be called stepping-stones, by which the uneducated classes could be led from their traditional paganism to the higher conceptions of Christianity. But sometimes the stepping-stones failed to serve their purpose, and were used to drag down the Christian conceptions to the pagan level. Images and relics, viewed as symbols of things spiritual, helped to touch the imagination, to

awaken awe and reverence for the Divine. But when the awe and reverence were appropriated to the images and relics themselves; when these were invested with sanctity, credited with miraculous powers, and themselves received adoration, a form of idolatry was in effect practised. On the other hand, it was easy enough to see how the most honest and spiritual-minded men, themselves heeding the spiritual significance of these things, should have felt that reverence for them and reverence for the Divine were bound up together; and to see also how the less honest of the clergy felt that their own power and influence depended on maintaining what they themselves regarded as superstitions, but the vulgar regarded as mysteries of which the clergy were custodians. Leo and his successors set their faces against this image-worship, and hence received the title of the 'Iconoclasts' or image-breakers. For a time they were successful, that is to say, they were to some extent able to enforce their views in spite of the opposition of the clergy. But by doing so they intensified the antagonism between the Imperial authority and the Christian Church of the west. Then at the close of the eighth century came a time when there was a struggle for the Imperial authority; and Irene, the widow of the Emperor Leo IV., for a time secured the Imperial Crown for herself, and endeavoured to compensate for the crimes by which she achieved her ambitions by seeking the support of the clergy. The result was to increase the power and influence of the ecclesiastical organisation, and the restoration of image-worship. So ended the iconoclastic struggle which foreshadowed one of the most prominent features in the Protestant reformation.

**The
Iconoclast
Emperors.**

**End of the
Isaurian
Dynasty, 802.**

WESTERN EUROPE

9th. Century

Showing the division of Charlemagne's Empire into the three Kingdoms.

To illustrate Chapters X and XI.

Boundary of Charlemagne's Empire shown by a thick line thus:.....

West Franks.....

East Franks.....

Middle Kingdom.....



CHAPTER X

THE WEST : FROM CLOVIS TO CHARLEMAGNE

WHEN the Roman Empire was established under Augustus, we saw that it already extended over Europe, south of the Danube, and west of the Rhine, and that it never effectively or for long occupied territory beyond these boundaries. Within these limits, west of a line drawn from the headwaters of the Rhine to the head of the Adriatic Sea, the population consisted almost entirely of three original elements: the Pre-Aryan, which was predominant in Spain, was fairly extensive in Gaul, and was represented in Italy mainly by the Etruscans; the Celts, who were in some force in Spain, predominant in Gaul and in the northern plains of Italy; and the Italian, predominant in Italy and leavening both Spain and Gaul. But the Italians were the ruling race, and the whole became completely Latinised; that is, it acquired a Latin character and the Latin language prevailed in it.

During the latter part of the fourth century and the fifth century A.D., the Teutonic tide swept over the whole region, and we shall see that in the sixth century Teutons were lords of the whole of it. Nevertheless, a remarkable fact remained, that although the Teutons were never driven out or reconquered by earlier populations, it was the Latin language, Latin ideas, and the Latin character, which ultimately prevailed over the whole area. Outside that area the Teutons remained Teutonic however intimately they may have been connected with the Teutons who within that area became Latinised. Here within the Roman Empire the invad-

ing Teutons neither exterminated nor drove out the earlier Latinised population; they settled down among them as masters, but coalesced with them, and were absorbed by them instead of absorbing them. Beyond the Rhine and the Danube, where the migrating Teutons had met with no organised civilisation, they exterminated, swallowed up, or drove out before them, all the peoples they met, and they remained Teutonic with very slight modification.

We may see that the rule applies also to Britain, which was not taken into the Roman Empire until the reign of Claudius.

Britain. Britain was a Roman outpost, but it never acquired more than a veneer of Latinity. The Roman legions had been withdrawn from it for half a century before the Teutonic invasion began in earnest; hence the Celtic inhabitants were either exterminated by the invaders, or absorbed into their slave population, or driven into the fastnesses of the north and west. In Britain, as in the lands east of the Rhine, the Teutons remained Teutonic and were never Latinised.

Before the break up of the Roman Empire, the fierce tribes of the Vandals had swept through Gaul into Spain. In the **Vandals in Africa.** fifth century they were followed by the stronger tribes of the Visigoths, who withdrew from Italy to found a dominion in the west. Before them the Vandals retired into Africa, where they ruled and tyrannised for a hundred years, till they were wiped out by Belisarius. So ended the brief Teutonic supremacy in Africa, giving place to a restoration of the Byzantine supremacy. During the seventh century that supremacy was wrested from the eastern empire by the advance of the Saracens, who extended their conquests to the Atlantic.

In the meanwhile the Visigoths had conquered the south of France and the whole of Spain, where the Vandals left their **The Goths in Spain.** trace only in the name of the great province of Andalusia. The Gothic conquest of Spain was not on the whole destructive. They were the least bloodthirsty of the Teutonic tribes, and comparatively speaking at least their treatment of conquered races was generous. But they did not develop a high political organisation.

In fact the inclination of the Teutons was to accept a war leader, but to pay very small respect to the authority of a king in time of peace. Their tribes consisted of freemen and nobles. The king was not much more than the principal noble; and the noble who wished his own rights to be respected, respected the rights of the freemen who were attached to his person. On the other hand the nobles were not too scrupulous in their dealings with each other, while they were ready to resent any claim to superiority on the part of a neighbour. The result was that in Spain every powerful noble became a petty prince on his own account, and no national organisation was achieved. There was neither a strong monarchy, nor, as at Rome, a solid oligarchical body working together for the common welfare subject to the interests of the ruling order. The nobles maintained established law and custom each in his own territory, but they made war on each other as the fancy took them. In Spain they had no common enemy to resist, and the disintegration steadily increased.

But by the beginning of the eighth century the Saracens on the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar were establishing their dominion. They turned greedy eyes towards **2. The Sara-** Spain; in 710 A.D. they landed a great host on **cens.** the Spanish shores. The Gothic army had gathered to meet them, but no longer had the character of the mighty warriors who had followed Alaric to Rome. At Guadalete for seven whole days a desperate battle raged; it ended in the total overthrow of the Goths. The Saracen flood swept over the whole Spanish peninsula, and the remnant of the Goths were penned up in the north-western corner and the mountains of the north. Thence in after time they issued again, and won back the land fragment by fragment as the centuries rolled by; until at last, in the days of our King Henry VII., the last Moorish kingdom in Spain, Granada, was overthrown, and the Crescent was driven out of Western Europe. It is to be remembered that in later days the highest nobility of Spain claimed descent from Gothic ancestors, not from Celts or Iberians or Latins.

Meantime, however, the Saracens or Moors, as they came to be called, became lords of Spain; and set up a civilisation of their own, which was in many respects the most advanced in Europe, although it flourished under the faith of Mohammed, not of Christ. The Moors, indeed, had hardly settled in Spain when they swept through the Pyrenees into France. There, however, they were checked, rolled back, and presently driven behind the river Ebro, which became the boundary of their domain. It was here, at Cordova, that the fugitive Ommayad Abdur Rahman set up the rival kaliphate when the Abbasides won the chieftainship of Islam in the east, in the middle of the eighth century.

The Goths had overrun Italy under Alaric; they had withdrawn again to the west under his successor. Attila the Hun had burst into Italy and retired. Then the peninsula had been dominated by Teutonic captains of various races at the head of Imperial legions composed of an almost entirely Teutonic soldiery: Ricimer the Sæve or Swabian, Odoacer the Herulian, and greatest of all, Theoderic the Ostrogoth. Then for a time Belisarius and Narses had restored the effective supremacy of the eastern empire. But the restoration was brief; again a Teutonic horde poured in, the Langobards, under their chief Alboin. The Langobards, or Lombards, were a later and more barbarous wave of the tide than either Visigoths or Ostrogoths or even Franks; and their dominion in Italy suffered from the common defect of the Teutonic races. It failed to establish central government. A Lombard, like a Gothic king, received only a temporary allegiance from a nobility, every member of which considered himself entitled to set up for himself a separate principality. Italy became practically a collection of petty states, habitually behaving as if they were independent, and only combining for some immediate common advantage. The Lombards dominated Italy, but they never mastered it. The Greek Empire still had an Italian capital, Ravenna, and a considerable hold on Southern Italy and Sicily. Rome had the prestige of the city which in

old time had conquered the world, and the added prestige of being the abode of the acknowledged spiritual head of Western Christendom.

The papacy was not yet a dominant political force. Even the supremacy of Rome had never been acknowledged in the Eastern Empire; but in the west, save in very **The Holy** remote regions, the authority of the Latin Church **See.**

was acknowledged and the dignity of its head was recognised with awe by the fiercest barbarians. The popes Innocent and Leo had faced Alaric and Attila when the secular powers had failed before them. The influence of Rome was increased when Clovis, the true founder of the Frankish dominion, declared himself in favour of orthodox Christianity instead of the Arianism professed by the Goths. In course of time the Goths also became orthodox. The popes were by no means always remarkable for the faith, the courage, or the ability which distinguished Innocent and Leo; but at the close of the sixth century, when the Lombard ascendancy in Italy was establishing itself, the papal throne was occupied by one of the most remarkable of the whole series of **Gregory the** popes. This was Gregory I., deservedly called the **Great, 590-604.** Great, with whom we are all familiar as the pope who sent Augustine to convert the English for the sake of the children whom he had seen in a slave market and called 'Not Angles but Angels.' Gregory was not only an organiser of great ability; his fervent zeal and eager faith reached to the whole body of the clergy, and roused a powerful missionary spirit which proved the real vitality of the Christian religion. A second Gregory defied the iconoclastic emperor a hundred years later; and these two may perhaps be said to have established the peculiar character of the Roman Church, its tremendous claims to authority, and its reliance on monasticism. It was certainly Gregory I. who secured that the **Missionary** Christianity of the Teutons should be Latin **Zeal.**

Christianity which regarded the pope as its head. The Christians of Ireland who did not own the papal supremacy had already begun mission work among the English; but Gregory's missionaries gained England for Latin, not Celtic Christianity;

and hence it was to Latin Christianity that the English missionaries Boniface (whose natural name was Winfried) and Willibrord converted the heathen Germans beyond the Rhine.

We shall not here at great length relate the manner of the conquest which changed Britain into England, another of the new Teutonic nations. But there are features of the English conquest which must be brought into comparison with the other Teutonic conquests.

There was no movement of one solid mass under one leader, as with Goths or Franks; but a migration of kindred tribes under separate leaders, sometimes recognising a common warlord. There was no establishment of a kingdom of England, but a gradual extension of the dominion of tribal chiefs until several kingdoms were set up, over which one king or another might claim a general supremacy by reason of his warlike powers; but among which, as among the Goths or Lombards, there was no real unity. It was not till the coming of a foreign foe, the Danes, in the ninth century, and their conquest of half the island, that a leader arose who was able to develop the idea of a common nationality which transformed the House of Wessex into the Royal House of England. But

it was in England that the Teutonic state grew up in its most purely Teutonic form, unmodified by any contact with an already deeply rooted civilisation. To the English state, modifications came afterwards, with its conquest by a Latinised power, the Normans. It was the Teutonic state in an already advanced state of development which was thus modified; whereas other Teutons were only in an early stage of political development when they were brought into direct contact with a Latin or Latinised civilisation.

The Gothic and Lombard kingdoms perished, overthrown the one by the Saracens, the other after a long interval by the Franks; the English and Frankish dominions endured. When Theoderic was making himself master of Italy, Clovis and his Franks were making themselves masters of Gaul.

The names by which the Frankish monarchs are familiar to us are derived from French literature, and are apt to make us forget that the Franks were Germans.

Clovis should be called Chlodwig, the name which was afterwards modified into the German Ludwig and the French Louis. In the same way, we have adopted the name of Charlemagne, bestowed in the early French romances on the Emperor Karl or Charles the Great, Carolus Magnus; and the families of the Merwings and Karlings have become the Merovingians and Carolingians. Towards the end of the fifth century the Visigoths were in possession in South-western Gaul and the Burgundians in the south-east. The Franks had spread over Northern Gaul, while they still held their territories on both banks of the Rhine.

Clovis, the founder of the Merovingian dynasty, made friends with the papacy, and brought under his sway the Arian Goths and Burgundians. Perhaps it would be more **The** correct to say that the Goths migrated to join **Merovingians**. their brethren in Spain. Clovis was the only great man of his line. Nevertheless, for two and a half centuries the Franks continued to acknowledge the Merovingian kings. Sometimes the dominion was divided among brothers; but as a general rule, when there were brothers, there was one who succeeded in getting rid of the rest. The records of the Merovingian kings are mainly a chronicle of particularly ugly crimes; notably, those due to the rivalry of the two famous and wicked queens, Fredegonde and Brunhilde. But in the second century after Clovis, that is in between 600 and 700 A.D., the kings ceased to be persons of importance; the rulership passed into the hands of a great noble with the title of Major Domus, Mayor of the Palace, who was the nominee sometimes of the nobles in general, sometimes of the king.

We must remark that the main Frankish dominion fell into two divisions: the eastern comprising what may be called the Rhine provinces, known as Austrasia, and the **Austrasia** western known as Neustria, a name of obscure **and Neustria**. origin. The Neustrian Franks became Latinised; the Austrasians remained almost entirely German, the more so because they were in constant contact with the entirely German tribes beyond the Rhine. There was a strong rivalry especially during the seventh century between Austrasia and Neustria

which became predominant in turn as a Neustrian or an Austrasian became Mayor of the Palace; but towards the end of the century the supremacy passed definitely to the great

687. Austrasian family of the Arnulfings, when Pepin of Heristal overthrew the Neustrians. The Arnulfings set themselves to consolidate the Frankish nation under their own rule, although for sixty-five years they did not take possession of the throne, but kept a puppet Merovingian king there.

Pepin of Heristal ruled with vigour for nearly thirty years, when he was succeeded as Mayor of the Palace by the great warrior Charles Martel, who in 732 smote the invading Saracens in what is generally called the Battle of Tours, or more correctly Poitiers. This was the decisive check on the advance of Mohammedanism in the west, as the repulse of the Saracens by Leo the Isaurian before Constantinople in 717 had flung back its advance in the east.

Pepin had strengthened himself by alliance with the Church. Charles Martel, while he appropriated ecclesiastical wealth for political and military purposes, made alliance with the papacy itself which was in the heat of its contest with the iconoclast emperors of the east. The Lombards at this time were ruled by a monarch Liutprand, who was making strenuous efforts to consolidate the Lombard kingdom. Liutprand tried to play off emperor and pope against each other for his own advantage, so that a Frankish alliance became particularly attractive to the

Pepin the pope. The son of Charles Martel, Pepin the Short. Short, carried his father's policy further. In 752 he made up his mind to abolish the farce of maintaining a puppet king who had neither dignity nor power, and took the curious step of appealing to the pope to sanction the assumption of the regal office by the man who exercised the regal functions. Pope Zacharias duly gave his sanction. Childeric, the last Merovingian king, retired into a monastery, and Pepin became king of the Franks; while the papacy naturally considered that it had secured a title to the gratitude of his dynasty. The gratitude

Papal Claims created. was duly displayed when Pepin marched into Italy at the pope's request, defeated the Lombard king, compelled him to pay tribute, and handed over a group of pro-

vinces in Central Italy as a donation to the Church. The papacy thus for the first time acquired a domain of its own, which later it chose to attribute to the gift of Constantine the Great, basing that claim on a notorious forgery; while a precedent had also been created which it subsequently urged as a proof that the pope has authority to depose and appoint secular princes.

The power of the Franks culminated under Pepin's son and successor Karl or Charles, best known as Charlemagne. At Pepin's death Charles was associated on the throne with his brother Carloman; but three years later, in 771, Carloman died, and Charles became sole ruler. His predecessors for three generations had been consolidating the Frankish kingdom. Charles extended it into the widest empire that has been seen in Western Europe except that of Napoleon. In the south-west he set the seal to his grandfather's work by forcing the Saracens once for all behind the line of the river Ebro. Almost throughout his reign he was waging wars and consolidating his dominions, extending his rule over Saxony and Bavaria, and humbling the Mongol kingdom of the Avars in Hungary. At the beginning of his reign he completed his father's conquest of the Lombards in Italy. The Lombard kingdom ceased to exist, and the northern half of Italy became a province of the dominion of the Frankish king. But the moment had come for making a change in the European system.

Hitherto the west had professed to recognise a very shadowy supremacy attaching to the empire which had never ceased to call itself Roman. Real authority it had none beyond the Grecian peninsula, save in Southern Italy and Sicily; yet the kings of the conquering Teutons had chosen to claim a legal authority for their position by representing themselves as having derived it from the emperor. But while Charles was palpably and obviously the Lord of Western Europe, Irene, the widow of the Emperor Leo IV., had put out her son's eyes and claimed herself to rule as empress at Byzantium. The pretext that a woman could not be emperor was seized. On Christmas day in the year 800 Pope Leo III. crowned Charles emperor and successor of the Caesars, and the Holy Roman Empire came into being. Thus was Europe decisively

6. Charle-
magne, 771-
814.

The Empire
Revived, 800.

divided into east and west politically, and a few years later the churches of eastern and western Christendom were no less decisively parted.

Charles was a great conqueror, who carried the eastern boundaries of his empire to the river Elbe, and brought practically the whole of the German peoples under his sway, with the exception of the Scandinavian branch occupying Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and of England. Essentially, it was a German Empire that he had created; an empire over Germans or over peoples dominated by Germans, of which only one portion had been Latinised. The bulk of the Latinised portion ultimately parted from the rest, and happened to retain as its own the name of the dominant German people; whereas among the purely German peoples the name was retained only in the purely Frankish territory of Franconia. But the land which the Romans had called Gallia, Gaul, took its name of France from the Franks who had given it its rulers.

The organisation which Charles applied to his empire became the basis of a new European system. The territorial magnates, generally entitled Dukes or Counts, were responsible for the government of their provinces or districts, who were replaced by bishops in territories held by the Church. All the magnates were politically the emperor's officers, and bound to render him military service. The emperor's authority was supreme, but Charles acted on the regular Teutonic principle of ruling formally at least by consent of his people. Twice a year he held a great assembly to which were gathered not only nobles and prelates but members of the commons, to whom his plans and his edicts were submitted, not for formal ratification, but so that the emperor might ascertain the general opinion with regard to them.

It was the purpose of Charles to enforce law and order throughout his dominions, and among churchmen as well as among the laity. In his view the organisation of the Church was part of the organisation of the State. As emperor he regarded himself as the head of western Christendom and the superior of the pope, who had paid homage to him at the Imperial coronation. He assumed the entire right of control, without a suspicion of recog-

nising any authority which could override his own. He examined into the lives and characters of the bishops, and expected them to obey his orders. But he had no wish to encourage the system under which prelates for the most part hardly differed from laymen; he held that they should be emphatically not men of the world, but men of religion. In his conception of the empire he intended them to serve as a counterpoise to the great lay magnates; as a power more closely associated with the Crown than the nobles, and more to be relied on to support authority. **Charles**
 But the bishops were not only to be an order of **as Educator.** nobility free from the temptation of the ordinary great noble to magnify his own family; the Church was also under their guidance to discharge its great function of educating the people. Charles was not only keen in the pursuit for himself of such knowledge as was available; he was zealous that learning should be fostered. He set up schools and universities, and gathered to them scholars whencesoever scholars might be drawn, the greatest among them being the Englishman Alcuin.

Charles was emphatically one of those who stand out in history as heroic figures; men who have been controlling forces, and have deliberately aimed at increasing the wel- **His Great-**
 fare of mankind. He was a great conqueror, but also **ness.** a greater organiser; he had a magnificent conception of duty himself, and he expected others to act up to his own standards. Those standards were imperfect; in some respects they were no better than those generally prevalent. He waged war no more mercifully than other rulers and captains of his time; and since he waged war on a great scale, he was also merciless on a great scale. His private morals were those of most men of his time outside the cloister and the mission field, but the personal greatness of the man is shown first by the consistency of a career extending over a reign of forty-seven years; secondly, by the fact that no hand but his own was strong enough to hold together the empire which he had created; and thirdly, by the permanent effects of his achievement, which survived the disruption of the empire itself.

On January 27th, 814, the mighty emperor died in the seventy-first year of his age. He was buried at his favourite seat of Aachen or Aix-la-Chapelle.

CHAPTER XI

EAST AND WEST : FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO HILDEBRAND

WHEN Charlemagne died a new force was just beginning to make itself felt in Western Europe. A portion of the Teutonic stock had occupied Norway and Sweden and the shores of the Baltic, and had pushed its way into Denmark. Hitherto this Scandinavian group had not come into contact with the comparatively civilised nations of the west. But by the close of Charlemagne's reign they were beginning to display a formidable activity. The first raiding bands of the Norsemen or Danes calling themselves Vikings, that is, the men of the creeks, sallied out from the fjords and inlets of the north, intent on plunder. As the ninth century advanced, the occasional pirate ships grew into pirate fleets, which carried their ravages along every coast, up every navigable river, till they found their way even into the Mediterranean. Presently they were not content merely to ravage and destroy, to carry off booty and slaves; they came in force, remained in armed occupation of the lands they seized, and wrung cessions of territory from the kings of the west.

Half England, known as the Danelagh, fell under their sway, though they settled down and mixed with the English, and generally acknowledged the sovereignty of the English kings. In France they won from the Carolingian monarch the fair province of Normandy, the land of the Northmen. Whether they came from Denmark or Norway, the Northmen had a great aptitude, when once they

did settle down, for adapting themselves to their surroundings. In England they became English with a difference, a harder and more irrepressible type than the Saxons of the south and the west. In Normandy they became French with a difference, a sterner and more adventurous type of Frenchmen. Out of Normandy they issued at last to carve new kingdoms for themselves in southern lands, and to become the most vigorous representative of the Militant Christianity which for two centuries battled for the Holy Land against the Moslem.

While the Northmen harried the northern coast and gradually planted themselves in northern provinces, the naval power of the Saracens was growing in the Mediterranean, **Islam and the Turks.** where they threatened to make conquest of Sicily and of Southern Italy; though their progress in the far west of the continent had been finally checked. But a change was taking place in the character of the Saracen power. The Arab supremacy was passing. Barbarian Turks were pushing their way into the Moslem Empire as the Teutons had pushed their way into the dominions of Rome. They came; they accepted Islam and became its most fanatical adherents, but they gradually made themselves also the ruling race among the Mohammedans; the race which provided the strongest governors, the most successful captains, the most indomitable soldiers. But the Turk was also more intolerant and more cruel than the Arab, and a fiercer hostility arose between the two creeds of Christ and of Mohammed. The close of the eleventh century marks the moment of the Norman expansion and the beginning of the Crusades.

In the meantime, since the death of Charlemagne, his great empire had again broken up into many kingdoms, though there remained always one emperor whose supremacy **Empire and Church.** was usually only nominal. And while the empire went to pieces the papacy also degenerated, sinking even to a scandalous depth of degradation. The empire was the first to recover in the powerful hands of the Saxon dynasty of the Ottos. The Ottos intervened forcibly to rehabilitate the character of the papacy, and before the end of the eleventh century

a pope with magnificent ideals was waging a spiritual war with the emperor for the supremacy of Christendom. Gregory VII. died in the bitter belief that he had been defeated, but his life formed an epoch from which dates the era during which the power of the papacy was at its height.

Perhaps what must be regarded as the leading feature of the period in the west is the development of the Feudal System.

2. Feudalism. Throughout the Middle Ages Feudalism was the great obstacle to the establishment of strong government. It was a disintegrating force; a force, that is, which tended to break up any great state that might be formed, into a collection of provinces. It created everywhere a number of powerful nobles, each of whom could call an army of his own into the field; while the greatest of them could often defy the sovereign authority of the state, and sometimes threaten to overturn it altogether.

The base principle of Feudalism is the tenure of the land on condition of protection given by the one party and military service rendered by the other. It was brought about by a double process. The great land-owner granted his lands to **Lords and Vassals.** tenants, called vassals, on condition of their becoming his 'men,' and following his standard in battle, besides paying him certain dues which became established by custom. Secondly, small land-holders voluntarily became vassals of bigger men than themselves, to whom they surrendered their lands, receiving them back as tenants under feudal tenure; the condition being that they should be protected against the attacks of other land-holders. According to the size of the estate, the vassal was pledged not only to fight for his lord himself, but to bring a certain number of retainers at his back. There was a perpetual tendency for all the smaller land-holders to become the 'men,' the vassals, of one or another of their big neighbours, lest one or another of the said neighbours should find excuse for depriving them of their lands altogether. A lord who had vassals himself might very well be himself, at the same time, the vassal of another greater lord. In fact the greatest lords, whether they were laymen or prelates, held their lands from the king, to whom they themselves did

homage as his men; the lesser lords held their lands of the greater lords, and so on, down to the smallest holders of land.

Every man was bound to have some lord, except the king himself, to whom the whole land of the kingdom was supposed to belong. But the general rule was that the **King and Nobles.** vassal paid homage only to his own immediate overlord, not to his lord's overlord; so that when a baron defied the king his vassals were pledged to follow him against the king. The justice or injustice of their lord's quarrel did not concern the vassals. The natural result was that a king was apt to be very much at the mercy of the great barons, who were strong enough to hold their own against their neighbours; whereas a great baron's vassals were none of them, as a rule, strong enough to set their lord at defiance. Hence every great baron came near to being an independent prince. This was the condition of affairs which was developing during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, by the end of which it had become thoroughly established.

Charles the Great at his death left an empire which extended from the river Elbe on the east to the Atlantic on the west, thus taking in great German districts which had **3. Break-up of the Empire.** been altogether outside the Roman Empire, besides so much of the old empire itself as lay west of this boundary line. But from this general statement we must exclude nearly the whole of Spain, the greater part of which was held by the Moors, the British Isles, **Europe in 814.** and the south of Italy. On the north lay the Scandinavian Teutons who had not yet built up states. On the east between the Baltic Sea and the Danube were tribes either Slavonic or Mongol. South of the Danube was the eastern empire, the western portion of which had already become Slavonic; while in the basin of the Lower Danube the Mongol Bulgars had established a kingdom which was presently to become more Slavonic than Bulgarian, though it retained the Bulgarian name. What we have to study next is the partition of Charlemagne's empire into France on the west, and the German or Holy Roman Empire on the east.

The rule of Primogeniture was not yet recognised ; that is to say, great estates, kingdoms as well as others, were habitually

Louis the Pious, 814-840. divided among the monarch's sons at his death, instead of passing undivided to the eldest son.

Charlemagne himself would have so divided his empire into kingdoms, though one king was to have been as Roman emperor supreme head of the whole. But one son only survived him, and the disruption of the great dominion was deferred. For sixteen years Louis, to give him his French title, called the 'pious' or the 'débonnaire,' ruled successfully enough. But he had already made his three sons into subordinate kings ; and when he married a second time, and a fourth son was borne to him, he deprived his other sons of territory assigned to them in order to provide an appanage for the youngest. Thereupon his sons rose up against him. For ten years Louis and his sons were engaged in a series of wars, and compacts broken by fresh wars, which were ended by the emperor's death, only to be renewed in the strifes of the three sons who survived him.

These three, Lothar the eldest, Ludwig or Lewis, called the German, and the youngest, Charles, called the Bald, divided the great dominion. Charles had the west with the Scheldt and the Rhône as his eastern boundary. Ludwig had the east with the Rhine for his western boundary. Lothar held the centre, including Italy, and along with it the Imperial Crown. From him the northern portion of his kingdom got the name of Lotharingia, which survives as Lorraine. Most of the southern half, outside of Italy, comes under the name of Burgundy. This was the division arrived at by the treaty of Verdun in 843. In all subsequent partitions Italy goes along with the Imperial Crown whosoever the emperor may happen to be.

In 877 A.D. Lothar's line had died out altogether, and his two brothers were both dead. Eleven years later the legitimate line of Lewis the German came to an end, in the person of Charles the Fat, who was emperor and for a time king of the whole dominion both of West and East Franks. Charles was succeeded in the German

End of the Eastern Carolingians.

kingdom by an illegitimate kinsman Arnulf of Carinthia, who also was emperor for a time, but his line came to an end with his son in 911. The middle kingdom had been divided between the East and the West Franks by Charles the Bald and Lewis the German, on the extinction of Lothar's family.

Meanwhile the Carolingians in the west were a little more prosperous. Charles the Bald managed to appropriate Italy and the Imperial Crown on the death of Lothar's son, **The West Franks.** who had succeeded him as emperor. Seven years after his death there was none of his stock to succeed to the crown except a five-year-old grandson, afterwards known as Charles the Simple. The child was set aside and the crown was seized by Charles the Fat. When Charles the Fat died the child was again set aside and Odo or Eudes, Count of Paris, was elected King of the Franks, that is the West Franks. When he died in 899, Charles the Simple was allowed to succeed.

A hundred years after the death of Charlemagne, the only one of his house who was still ruling nominally was Charles the Simple in the kingdom of the West Franks, now distinctively known as Francia, France.

On the failure of the Carolingian line in the eastern or German kingdom, the Crown was bestowed by election on Conrad, Duke of Franconia; and the principle of election to the kingdom of Germany began to be recognised. **The 'German King.'** Italy, however, had been severed both from the East and the West Franks. After Charles the Fat it was only at intervals that any one was definitely recognised as emperor; and among those who were recognised **Italy.** at all, Arnulf was the only Carolingian. Italy in fact fell a prey to the rivalries of the great dukes, who attempted to restore a Lombard dominion when the Franks were no longer able to hold them in check.

A Carolingian continued to be King of France until 987, but the real rulers were the dukes of France or counts of Paris—Robert the brother of Odo, who had reigned as king, and his descendants. In 987 Hugh Capet, the **France and Germany, tenth century.** grandson of Robert, was elected king, and established a dynasty which reigned without a break for eight hundred

years. In Germany Conrad of Franconia was succeeded as king by Henry called the Fowler, Duke of the Saxons. His son Otto the Great re-established the Roman Empire when he was crowned emperor at Rome in 962. Among West and East Franks alike the power of the great dukes and counts limited the power of the king. In France, in the long-run, one great noble took possession of the Crown and made it hereditary in his family. In Germany the Crown passed from the Carolingians to a duke of Franconia, from Franconia to the dukes of Saxony, from the Saxon line back to the Franconian line, and did not for several centuries become the hereditary possession of one family.

While the grandsons of Charlemagne were quarrelling with each other, the incursions of the Norsemen became fiercer and more extensive. They sailed up the Rhine, the **The Northmen.** Scheldt, the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne. Their invasions of Germany were finally checked by Arnulf. In France they would have captured Paris, which was becoming the centre of the kingdom, but for the valour of Count Robert the Strong, and of his son Odo, who was named king on the death of Charles the Fat. Odo held them at bay. On Odo's death Charles the Simple was allowed to become king, Odo's brother Robert contenting himself with a rôle very much like that of the Mayors of the Palace in the Merovingian time. But even before the death of Charles the Bald a Norse chief, Rolf **Normandy.** or Rollo, had secured a permanent footing at Rouen, and he gradually waxed so strong that Charles the Simple and Duke Robert made a treaty with him; and the lands afterwards known as Normandy were assigned to him as a dukedom, while he acknowledged himself the vassal of the King of France and paid him homage. This treaty of St. Claire-sur-Ept came only a few years after what was really the very similar treaty of Wedmore **The Danelagh.** between the English king Alfred the Great and the Danes, who were established in the Danelagh. Both in France and England the Danes and Northmen accepted Christianity, and from the time that they were acknowledged as territorial lords the ravages of the Vikings were very much diminished in both countries.

The dukes of Normandy ranked with the great dukes and counts of France; those of Paris, Flanders, Vermandois, Burgundy, Aquitaine. The royal estate did not suffice to make the king a match for any of his own great nobles, among whom the counts of Paris, Robert, his son Hugh the Great and grandson Hugh Capet, generally succeeded in holding the leading position and controlling the Crown for their own purposes; while the king was always endeavouring to free himself from their mastery. Hence to compare the position of the French king and his inability to rule with a strong hand, with the position of Henry the Fowler or Otto in Germany, who did rule with a strong hand, is scarcely fair; for the strength of the Saxon kings of Germany had the foundation of their powerful dukedom of Saxony to rest on. It was not till the counts of Paris made themselves kings of France that the French king was so much as the most powerful among the French nobility. For more than a century after the accession of Hugh Capet, the dynasty was mainly occupied in gradually confirming its supremacy amongst the nobility. If William of Normandy had elected to strike for the Crown of France instead of the Crown of England, it is not impossible that the Norman dynasty would have replaced the Capets.

After the death of Charles the Fat, France stood outside the empire to which we must give our attention. The Carolingian line closed in 911. Conrad of Franconia was elected German king, and was followed by Henry the Fowler of Saxony in 918. His great work was mainly to check the advance of the Slavonic and Mongol tribes on the east, and to organise the frontier 'mark' of Schleswig as a barrier against the Danes. The two greatest divisions of the German peoples in Germany were the Saxons and the Franks of Franconia, and their agreement in electing the Saxon duke to the German kingship probably prevented a further rending of Germany.

Henry's son Otto restored the empire as a living force, but he had reigned for five and twenty years as King of Germany before he claimed the Imperial Crown. The vigour of his rule which he intended to make supreme, a reality throughout

The last
French
Carolingians.

Germany:
Henry the
Fowler.

the German kingdom, roused resistance and rebellion which he was strong enough to suppress. He carried out his father's policy of organising the frontiers against the Slavonic tribes; and he decisively broke a great wave, the last for some centuries, of Mongol invasion. The tribes of the Magyars or Ungrians (whence come the names Hungary and Hungarian) poured into Europe from the east, and occupied what had once been the kingdom or empire of their kinsmen the Avars and Huns. They had indeed penetrated much further, carrying desolation before them. They had been checked by Henry the Fowler, but now they were decisively hurled back in the great rout at Lechfeld by Otto in 955; a battle which ranks, as a day of deliverance, with the repulse of the Saracens by Leo the Isaurian before Constantinople, and by Charles Martel at Poitiers. The Magyars were forced back into Hungary where they established themselves, adopted Christianity, and later became a bulwark of Christendom against their Mongol kinsmen the Turks and the Tartars.

But Otto was not content with strengthening the German kingdom. He intended to revive the ideal of empire derived from Charlemagne himself. There were two heads of Christendom, temporal and spiritual, the empire and the papacy. The papacy must be subordinate to the empire, but the two must work together. With the disappearance of the line of Lothar, the southern portion of the central kingdom, Burgundy and Italy, had passed out of the control of the Carolingians without forming a third kingdom like those of the West and East Franks, France and Germany. Burgundy, as Provence, had formed an independent kingdom; Italy was rent between rival dukes who tried to dominate the papacy. The papal elections became a farce. Pope Nicholas I. had taken advantage of the dissensions of the Carolingians to assert the papal claim to a higher authority than that of emperors or princes; one of his successors bestowed the unappropriated Imperial Crown on an Italian duke, Berengar of Spoleto. But there was no ruling hand in Italy; Papal elections were conducted in a spirit of violent

Otto the Great, German King, 936.

4. The Empire Revived.
Italy.

Decline of the Papacy.

partisanship ; popes followed each other in rapid succession ; and then throughout the first half of the tenth century came a series who degraded the sacred office to the lowest depths. As a natural consequence the demoralisation permeated the whole ecclesiastical organisation in Italy, and was not without its corrupting influence beyond the Alps. Otto intervened in Italy, which he entered in arms, and was first crowned King of Italy and then in the following year Emperor. Otto contented himself with removing the pope and replacing him by another of respectable character. He did not make a vigorous effort to reform the papacy ; but he definitely reunited Germany and Italy under the empire, and brought Italy into the field of the operations of the German kings. The change was emphasised under Otto II., and still more under Otto III., who actually made Rome his capital, and imposed two excellent German popes, Bruno and Gerbert, Gregory V. and Sylvester II. of the Church. His idea was the restoration of the Roman Empire with Rome as its centre.

Otto III. was succeeded by Henry of Bavaria, who reverted to German policy ; that is to say, he treated Germany as the predominant instead of the subordinate portion of the empire. The control over the papacy lapsed, and for a short time the family of the otherwise unimportant counts of Tusculum managed to keep the succession to the papacy to themselves. Its character, which the Ottos had sought to rehabilitate, again sank painfully low. On the other hand Henry completed the German kingdom by the absorption of Burgundy. He died childless, and a second Conrad of Franconia was elected. The reign of Conrad's successor Henry III. prepared the way for a great change. The degradation of the papacy and the attendant demoralisation had already produced a reaction, and a reforming spirit was at work especially among the members of the Cluniac Order of the monks. Henry set himself to carry out a reformation. He had not himself the slightest intention of conceding an iota of the Imperial supremacy to the Roman pontiff, but the clergy who were zealous for moral reformation were precisely

the men who had the highest conception of the ecclesiastical authority. In endeavouring to purify the Church these were the men whom Henry brought into the most influential position; and as the Church emerged from its moral degradation, it renewed its claims to supremacy with a fresh warrant derived from its spiritual efficiency. In 1046 there were no fewer than three rival popes. All three were deposed, and the emperor nominated his own selection, Clement II., a German. After him he nominated three more popes in succession, all Germans; most notable being another Bruno, who ruled as Leo IX. Leo was a zealous reformer, but he was not content to accept the nomination of the emperor without the higher authority of election by the clergy. In this as in other matters his adviser was the monk Hildebrand, who continued to be the real director of papal policy until he himself was elected pope as Gregory VII. in 1073. The papacy entered on the course, more and more openly, of claiming to be the supreme authority in Christendom to which emperors and kings must bow. The assertion of these pretensions was made the easier because Henry III. was succeeded by a child, Henry IV., who was not able to throw down the challenge until he was grown up; and even then his first occupation was a sharp struggle with some of the German nobles.

As pope himself, and long before he became pope, Gregory VII. had a definite and a splendid object before him. Somewhat as Samuel, prophet of Israel, claimed that the Lord of Hosts ruled the chosen people by the voice of His prophets, only suffering a king to be chosen as a sort of subordinate officer, so Gregory claimed that it was the will of the Almighty to rule through the heirs of the apostles, and especially the heir of St. Peter, only suffering kings and emperors as subordinate officers. The clergy should form a great organisation of the spiritual servants of God, recognising no human authority as being set over them, but only the divine authority of the Church itself. Christendom was to be literally the kingdom of the Almighty, whose vicegerent on earth was the pope. The glory of God and His Church stood above all else. The whole theory of course involved that the clergy should live up to the

level of their pretensions. It was in entire accordance with these principles that the popes under Hildebrand's guidance authorised William of Normandy to depose King Harold of England, and bestowed upon the Normans in Italy lordships which were in no other sense theirs to give.

Nearly the whole of Gregory's pontificate was passed in a struggle with the Emperor Henry IV. Gregory himself began the battle by forbidding Henry to make ecclesiastical appointments. Thus began the long contest over the question of what was called Lay Investitures. There had been an irregularity about Gregory's own accession to the papacy, which warranted Henry in retaliating by declaring Gregory to be deposed from an office which he had usurped. Gregory replied by excommunicating Henry and deposing him from the royal office in virtue of his own authority as St. Peter's successor, to bind and to loose. Henry first found himself obliged to humiliate himself in the most abject manner before the pope at Canossa, since the excommunication was seized by his own subjects as an excuse for revolt. But he was able in turn, on the recovery of his secular supremacy in Germany, to set up an antipope, and drive Gregory into that exile in which he died.

It was during these years that a family of Norman warriors carved out for themselves kingdoms in the Mediterranean lands. At first they appeared merely as adventurers taking part in the struggles of various factions in Southern Italy and Sicily, which was now in the hands of the Arabs. One brother, Robert Guiscard, mastered most of Southern Italy, got the title of Duke of Apulia from the pope, and began to carry his arms across the Adriatic. A second brother Roger conquered Sicily. The Normans, it may be remarked, could generally be relied upon to side with the pope against the emperor; and it was to the protection of Robert Guiscard that Gregory escaped from Rome. William, Duke of Normandy, conquered England in 1066; and for some time to come England was governed by foreign kings whose most important interests lay in their continental dukedoms and counties, quite as much as in their English kingdom. England

Henry IV.
and
Gregory VII.

The Normans
in Italy.

The Normans
in England,
1066.

was in effect a province in the dominion of the Duke of Normandy or of the Count of Anjou. It was not till they had been almost entirely bereft of their possessions in France that kings of England began the attempt to recover them as provinces of the English kingdom.

In the eastern empire after the time of disturbance which followed when the Isaurian dynasty came to an end, the

5. The Eastern Empire. Emperor Basil established the Macedonian dynasty. In the second half of the tenth century and the early years of the eleventh, the Christian empire

recovered ground in Asia and carried its frontiers as far as the Euphrates, taking advantage of the disorganisation which was coming over the eastern kaliphate. But Byzantium was threatened during these two centuries quite as much on its European frontier as in Asia. We have seen that the pure Slavs who crossed the Danube were admitted as settlers, and did not set up an independent state. The Bulgars, however, created a dominion of their own on the Lower Danube, which did develop into a Slavonic State, because the ruling Bulgars really became absorbed into the Slavonic population over whom they were at first masters; in the same sort of way that the Norman conquerors of England afterwards became absorbed by the English. The overthrow and annexation of Bulgaria by Basil II., early in the eleventh century, delivered the eastern empire from a neighbour that was becoming a serious danger.

During these centuries also we hear in a dim confused way of the beginnings of Russia. Out of the north there came to

The Beginnings of Russia. the Black Sea a people whom the Greeks called Ros, Russians. Their names, however, and customs were not Slavonic but Scandinavian. It

is probable that Swedish adventurers established a lordship over the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Baltic, and led them south, seeking new lands to conquer after the Scandinavian fashion. The traditional founder of the Russian Empire was a hero named Rurik, and its headquarters were first at Novgorod in the north and then at Kiev on the river Dnieper. In the long-run the Scandinavian element disappeared, but in the early

ages it was more prominent than the Slavonic, which afterwards either absorbed it or shook it off. The Russians made their attack on the eastern empire by way of the Black Sea; they were finally beaten off by the Emperor John Tzimisces, the predecessor of Basil II. It was immediately after this that the Russians accepted Christianity from the Greek, not from the Roman, Church.

At the end of the tenth century the western nations began also to be aware that a different Slavonic dominion, that of Poland, was establishing itself on the eastern frontier of the German domain. To the west and south of the Poles another branch of the Slavs had already established themselves in Moravia, where they also had become Christianised. These Moravians or Bohemians represent the most westerly expansion of the Slavs.

Other
Slavonic
Peoples.

Perhaps the portion of Europe which best deserved to be described as civilised was the Saracen dominion in Spain. The Ommayad kaliphs, Abdur Rahman and his successors, encouraged the decorative Art permitted by Mohammedanism as distinct from sculpture and painting, the image-making which it prohibited. To us, however, who are accustomed to look upon Mohammedanism as a particularly intolerant and fanatical religion, it is remarkable that there was a larger spirit of toleration, more freedom of discussion and inquiry, in Mohammedan Spain than was ever dreamed of in Christian Spain, or in the Christian world at all during the most part of the Middle Ages. In the Christian world philosophy and scientific inquiry started with assuming as fundamental truths phrases in the Bible which had been completely misinterpreted. A scientific inquirer was quite certain to be branded as being in league with the powers of darkness. But among the Moors the antagonism to knowledge did not prevail, and whatever progress was made in science or philosophy was to be found among them.

6. Islam.

High civilisation of
Moorish
Spain.

At the same time the country enjoyed a remarkable material

prosperity, and the Christians were generally prevented from recovering much territory beyond the Ebro and the north-western region of Asturias. In these regions, however, was

Decline of Saracen Power. formed the nucleus of what subsequently became the great kingdoms of Leon, Castile, and Aragon.

In the eleventh century the control of the kaliphs collapsed, and the Moorish dominion broke up into principalities, in the same sort of fashion as the Christian kingdoms of Europe were broken up into dukedoms or counties. Spain ceased even nominally to acknowledge a single ruler. Cordova ceased to be the first city in Spain, while Seville and Granada were rivals for the pride of place. The Christians of the north grew stronger, and the time was at hand for a steady though gradual advance towards the recovery of the peninsula.

The western kaliphate, of which the power was in fact limited to Spain, had broken away from the eastern kaliphate, with the accession of the Abbasides. Of that **The Eastern Kaliphate.** house the most splendid ruler was Harun al Raschid, the contemporary of Charlemagne, and like Charlemagne the centre of legend and romance. The Abbasides were kinsmen of the prophet; but though they had achieved power by the aid of the Shiites, or adherents of the house of Ali, as kaliphs they professed the orthodox creed of the Sunnites.

The glory of Bagdad faded after the death of Harun; the magnificent luxury of the capital was of a kind which inevitably leads to demoralisation. Harun's sons struggled for supremacy among themselves; and though one of them, Mamun, succeeded **Waning of the Kaliphate.** in making himself a mighty monarch, he did so to a great extent by the incorporation of a great army of mercenary soldiers drawn mainly from the north-eastern regions of Turkestan. The kaliphs remained, but the real power passed from the Abbasides to great provincial rulers. Africa, with the exception of Egypt, at a very early stage ceased to give their authority anything more than a nominal recognition. In Egypt itself, a descendant of Ali made himself supreme, and established what was virtually a

Fatimide dynasty in the latter half of the tenth century. The Abbasides found themselves obliged to rest chiefly on the support of a Persian dynasty who practically became regents at Bagdad.

Then there arose in the south-eastern corner of the Saracen dominion, at Ghazni, in what is now Afghanistan, the great Sultan Mahmud, of Turkish descent, who made **Mahmud of Ghazni, 1000.** himself master of most of the far east, and began a series of invasions of India which resulted in the gradual subjection of a great part of that vast country to Mohammedan dynasties. Mahmud, like the Abbasides themselves, and like the kaliphs of Cordova, prided himself on encouraging literature in spite of the fact that he was also a very notable warrior.

This was at the beginning of the eleventh century. But the usual fate befell what is called the Ghaznavid dynasty of Mahmud. There was fierce dissension between his sons; their dominion broke in pieces, and the definite supremacy of the Turks began with the appearance of the group **The Seljuk** known as the Seljuks. The Seljuks entered as **Turks.** conquerors; to begin with, making themselves masters of what had been Media in the ancient days before Cyrus seized the Median throne. Then they became the champions of the kaliph, who had become a puppet in the hands of his ministers, and now became a puppet in the hands of the Turks—though he was still in theory both the spiritual and the secular head of Mohammedanism. The Seljuk armies swept over Asia, recovered Syria and Palestine which had passed into the hands of the Egyptian Fatimides, and drove back the Greek Empire practically within the ancient confines of Lydia; establishing in fact a dominion which was almost co-extensive with the old empire of Cyrus, excluding Lydia.

The unity of the Seljuk dominion however soon disappeared. The portion of it which lay in Asia Minor became practically the independent kingdom of Roum or Iconium. The Seljuks remained in Palestine long enough to bring about **The Holy Land.** an important consequence of their occupation, although the Fatimides recovered possession. For their treat-

ment of Christians, and especially of the Christian pilgrims to the sacred spots in the Holy Land, showed an increased harshness ; and that harshness was largely responsible for the great outburst of active hostility between Islam and Christianity, which took shape in the crusades.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK IV., A.D. 476 TO 1080

GUIDING DATES

WEST	EAST
Clovis, King of the Franks 481	Justinian 527
Theoderic the Ostrogoth 489-526	Heraclius 610
Vandal kingdom destroyed 536	Mohammed : the Hejira 622
Narses in Italy 554	Abu Bekr, kaliph 632
Lombard Invasion 568	Arabs invade Persia 632
Gregory the Great 590-604	Omar, kaliph 634
Pepin of Heristal 687	Arabs conquer Egypt 640
Rise of Venice 697	Leo the Isaurian 718
Saracens invade Spain 711	Iconoclast movement 725
Battle of Poitiers or Tours 732	Abbasid kaliphate 750
Pepin the Short, King of the	Harun al Raschid at Bagdad 786
Franks 754	Irene, Empress 797
Charlemagne, king 768	Emperor Basil I. Mace-
Charlemagne, emperor 800	donian dynasty 867
Egbert of Wessex 802	Separation of Eastern and
Louis the Pious 814	Western Churches 869
Treaty of Verdun 843	Saracens in Sicily 878
Alfred the Great 871-901	Basil II., emperor 976
Henry the Fowler 918	Mahmud of Ghazni invades
Otto I., German king 936	India 1000
Battle of Lechfeld 955	Seljuks in Armenia 1048
Otto, emperor 961	Seljuks at Jerusalem 1076
Capet dynasty 987	
Canute the Great 1017	
Henry III., emperor 1039	
Normans in Italy 1040	
Norman Conquest 1066	
Gregory VII., pope 1073	

LEADING NAMES

Clovis — Theoderic — Justinian — Belisarius — Narses — Alboin — Gregory the Great — Heraclius — Mohammed — Leo the Isaurian — Charles Martel — Pepin the Short — Harun al Raschid — Charlemagne — Alfred — Henry the Fowler — Otto the Great — Hugh Capet — Mahmud of Ghazni — Canute — Emperor Henry III. — Emperor Henry IV. — William the Conqueror — Gregory VII. — Robert Guiscard.

Monasticism. The clergy were divided into two main sections, called 'Regular' and 'Secular.' The term Regular means 'under a rule' (Latin, *regula*), that is, vowed to obey the particular rules of a monastic order. We should have a fair equivalent to Regular and Secular, if we spoke instead of monks and parish clergy. The monks lived together in monasteries. Bishops, who were the heads of the Secular clergy, did not control the monasteries, though they might themselves be chosen from members of the monastic orders. The abbots at the head of the greater monasteries were on an equality with bishops. Monks were always under a vow not to marry; the Seculars were forbidden by the 'Canons' or ecclesiastical laws to take wives, but were not under a special vow; so that whenever and wherever Church discipline was lax, it was not unusual for them to have wives.

Fiefs. When a vassal held a fief from an overlord, it continued, in the natural order of things, in his hands and those of his heirs. On failure of heirs, the fief lapsed to the overlord. This was one way in which kings, who were necessarily overlords of all the landowners, increased the estates in their own hands. Estates also reverted to the Crown, when a vassal forfeited them by treason or otherwise. When the inheritance of an estate passed to a woman, her marriage added it to her husband's estates; thus marriage was one of the means by which vast estates accumulated in the hands of particular families. On the other hand, great estates got broken up where law and custom permitted them to be divided among several sons. This was common throughout the earlier Middle Ages: in the later Middle Ages it was stopped in some countries, notably in England, by the establishment of the law of primogeniture—that is, the eldest son alone inherited.

India. Buddhism had decayed, and a very much modified form of the old Brahminism—the modern Hinduism—took its place. The Hindu (or Aryan) conquest of Southern India was completed probably about the beginning of the period, and Hinduism in one or other of its forms was dominant in all but the most remote hill-districts. After the rise of Islam, Arab invaders entered the Punjab, but made no permanent conquest. At the beginning of the eleventh century, however, Mahmud of Ghazni invaded the north-west repeatedly, and from that time forward Mohammedan dynasties gradually extended their sway over the Hindus of Northern India, and subsequently over much of the south.

The Dark Ages. This period is commonly given the title of 'The Dark Ages.' The rule of Rome had enforced law and order, even if often accompanied by corruption and oppression throughout the empire; life and property were generally safe. The break up of the empire left it under the changing dominion of barbarian tribes, among whom wars were never-ending; property was held only by the strong hand, and a precarious peace was to be found only in the monasteries. The barbarians adopted Christianity, but to a great extent their own heathen superstitions were incorporated in their new religion; the Church, the one civilising influence, was inclined to go very far in its concessions to prevailing creeds, in order to bring their adherents within the possible range of its own influence. It was only in the monasteries that literature, science, and all peaceful arts could be practised, and inevitably the one aim with which those pursuits were followed was that of increasing ecclesiastical influence. Hence, intellectually, the world stood still or retrogressed; there was more progress among the Mohammedans than in the Christian nations.

Serfdom was the form taken by slavery in the new communities. It was an essential part of feudalism. The characteristic distinction between slavery and serfdom or 'villeinage' was that the slave was the owner's absolute property, the villein had certain rights, and was attached to the soil. That is, he was obliged to serve the land-holder on whose soil he lived. He could not be sold, but he could not transfer himself from one land-holder to another. The conquerors did not carry off the conquered into captivity after the fashion of Shalmaneser and Nebuchadnezzar; they remained, took possession of the soil, and compelled the conquered to till it for them, giving them a proportion of the produce, but requiring from them various other services besides the cultivation of the plots on which they were

allowed to live. Usage set a limitation to the demands for service and for produce which the lord might make upon his serfs ; what was additional had to be paid for with some form of wages, and on the other hand the villeins were allowed to substitute some form of payment for service. Thus forced labour came to be replaced by paid labour, and the labourer paid rent instead of giving service. Hence villeinage had practically disappeared in England near the beginning of the fifteenth century ; but on the continent serfdom lasted much longer, and was not brought to an end till the French Revolution. In Russia the serfs were not emancipated till the second half of the nineteenth century.

BOOK V
THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER XII

THE CRUSADES, AND THE EAST

AT the close of the eleventh century the nations of Europe were beginning to take shape in the west. England and Scotland were established as separate kingdoms. France was a separate kingdom, so was Germany. The middle kingdom of Burgundy had been absorbed partly into France and mainly into Germany. Italy was a collection of principalities which never got themselves moulded into a single nation until the nineteenth century. Their head was supposed to be the emperor, as King of the Romans. Southern Italy under Norman chiefs had completely separated itself from the eastern empire, and was shortly to be united under one prince with Sicily. In the western or Spanish peninsula the decisive supremacy of the Moors had come to an end. The Christian states from the north-west and north were already beginning to recover ground rapidly. On the north of Europe, Norway, Sweden and Denmark formed three separate states ; but of these Denmark alone influenced European politics, though Norway played a part in the history of Scotland. The German Empire had pushed eastwards across the Elbe, and its frontier now lay a little to the west of the Oder, although the Slavonic duchy of Bohemia is not very definitely included in its borders. Beyond the border crossing from north to south comes first the duchy of Pomerania attached to Denmark ; then the Slavonic Poland ; then Hungary, the dominion of the Magyars, extending to the Danube and its tributary the Save. The eastern empire had shrunk to very small limits. After the time of Basil II., its vigour had

decayed, and the Seljuks had swept it back out of Asia Minor till their kingdom of Iconium included the greater part of it. The Seljuks were still the dominant force in Western Asia, though they recognised the Kaliph of Bagdad as the representative of the prophet. Palestine, however, and a part of Syria, were attached to the rival Fatimide kaliphate of Egypt.

This then was the position of the civilised world at least as known to the westerns at the opening of the crusading era.

The Crusading Era. That era lasted for nearly two centuries. It was marked by the gradual consolidation of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, of France, and those of Spain; by the great development of the papal power in its long contest with the German emperors; by the wreckage of the eastern empire, which was really brought about by the western Christians; and finally, by that struggle between East and West which goes by the name of the crusades.

The crusades, or the battle between Islam and Christianity, claim our first attention.

On the throne of the grievously weakened Byzantine Empire the dynasty of the Comneni was just established. The Emperor

2. The First Crusades. Alexius appealed in vain to the Christians of the west to stem the advancing tide of the Turkish power. It was time for a united Europe to make a determined stand against the followers of Mohammed. But it was not easy

Palestine. to persuade Europe to anything in the shape of united action. A different kind of appeal from that

made by Alexius was required. The appeal came from Peter the Hermit, who had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and seen the cruelties to which Christians were subjected in the Holy Land, and the desecration of the spots which all Christians held sacred. He came back to Europe, and his fervid eloquence fired the hearts of his hearers. The pope, Urban II.,

Peter the Hermit. flung himself zealously into the cause. Peter the Hermit went forth preaching, with the pope's

authority. Urban struck while the iron was at its hottest. A great council was held at Clermont, to which were gathered princes and prelates and nobles from all parts of Europe, together with a great concourse of lesser folk. To passionate pleadings

for the redemption from the infidel of all that Christians held most sacred were added promises that all who took up the War for the Cross should receive their reward in pardon for their misdeeds in the life to come. The eloquence of the pope was answered by the shout of the assembled multitude, 'It is the will of God ; it is the will of God'; and princes, prelates and nobles, and multitudes of the meaner folk, pledged themselves to the sacred cause. There is no need to suggest that the pope was not himself actuated by the purest zeal for a cause which all men held to be entirely righteous ; but the political gain to the papacy itself was enormous, because the pope declared himself emphatically as the head of Christendom, the inspirer of the great enterprise.

**Council of
Clermont:
First Crusade,
1095.**

But the crusading movement was not that of the united nations of Europe. Emperor and kings did not convene national armies to advance in their allied might against the eastern powers ; it was a movement of individuals. Great nobles and captains took the Cross, and individuals took the Cross to serve under them. It was a purely volunteer movement ; and if thousands of the volunteers were actuated by the religious motive, thousands of them were also adventurers who hoped to win new possessions for themselves in the east.

**Character of
the Move-
ment.**

An army bent on conquest requires organisation, and of this the nobles and princes were well enough aware. But popular and ignorant enthusiasm would not wait for organisation. A vast rabble gathered and clamoured to be led to the Holy Land, and set out on their march through Europe under the leadership of Peter the Hermit himself and a captain known as Walter the Penniless. Utterly without order or discipline they aroused hostility wherever they went, and committing countless outrages themselves they were for the most part cut to pieces before they reached Constantinople. The real army started later, counting in its ranks the comparatively disciplined forces of great nobles like Raimond, Count of Toulouse ; Robert, Duke of Normandy, eldest son of the Conqueror and brother of William Rufus, King of England ; the

**1096. The
First Army.**

Norman Bohemond of Tarentum in Southern Italy, with his nephew Tancred ; and Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine. But at best the army was a collection of troops commanded by captains, most of whom were quite as much bent on personal aggrandisement as on any higher object. The Emperor Alexius had wanted a western army to help him in the recovery of his own dominions. The great host of the crusaders, which arrived before Constantinople, was thinking of nothing less than of serving him. However, he made a convenient compact with them, under which they did homage to him as his 'men' for so long as they should remain in his territory. It was apparently understood that the boundary of Imperial territory was to be drawn somewhere beyond the range of Mount Taurus, outside of which limit the crusaders might take what they chose for their own.

So the crusaders marched through the Seljuk dominion of Asia Minor, defeating the Turks on their way, but hardly troubling themselves about securing the country. Edessa beyond the Euphrates was secured, and shortly afterwards Antioch fell after a long siege. It was fortunate that rivalries were as prevalent in high places among the Mohammedans as among the Christians. Bohemond managed to keep Antioch to himself.

It was not till next year that the main force appeared before Jerusalem and began the siege of the Holy City. Jerusalem was carried by storm ; there was a great slaughter of the taken, 1099. Moslems, and the Christians were masters of the Holy Places.

Palestine was not to be made a present to the Greek emperor ; the conquered territory was to be a Latin principality. Raimond of Toulouse had become discredited by the obviousness of his self-seeking ; Bohemond was disposed of at Antioch ; Robert of Normandy declined to be a candidate for the Crown of Jerusalem ; and Godfrey of Bouillon, than whom probably no worthier choice could have been made, was elected. Characteristically, he declined to wear a kingly crown in the city where the Saviour had been crowned with thorns, but he accepted the office laid upon him.

The new Latin kingdom was to be administered as a complete and perfect example of the feudal system of society. The system was embodied in the code called the Assize of Jerusalem; but it is undoubtedly an error to ascribe this compilation to Godfrey himself, who died within the year, and was succeeded by his brother Baldwin. Godfrey and Tancred stand out conspicuously as the most admirable types of the chivalry of their time, a time in which it is difficult to discover characters of any real nobility. These two may be accounted precursors of that higher type of chivalry which reached its best development in the age of Simon de Montfort and Edward 1. It was well for Europe when knighthood began to model itself upon men like Godfrey and Tancred, rather than men like William Rufus.

3. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

What we speak of as the crusades mean in general the great expeditions of large forces encouraged by European princes, which took place at intervals usually of about a generation, during the next hundred and seventy years. It was not however these expeditions on a great scale which were their most important characteristic. From the time when the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was first founded the forces permanently in the east were not large. They required to be perpetually supplemented, and there was a perpetual stream of military pilgrims to the Holy Land, who went to humble themselves in its Holy Places, but could also find opportunity for doing battle with the Saracens. The east became a sort of military school for venturesome knights, whose own feudal superiors could not find them a convenient supply of fighting. There was nearly always fighting to be had in Syria, accompanied by a comfortable sense that a man might compensate for a good deal of moral aberration by trying to kill a few Turks. So the stream flowed out and flowed back, but flowed always; and thus large numbers from the knighthood of Europe gathered from their eastern experiences ideas which they would never have acquired while they abode at home in the west.

What the Crusades were.

Baldwin 1. was succeeded by Baldwin 11., his kinsman. The Christian kingdom and principalities were strengthened along

the seaboard from Asia Minor to the borders of Egypt. Baldwin was succeeded by Fulk of Anjou, followed by his son Baldwin III., who was no more than a boy at the time of his accession. Almost immediately afterwards the Turks attacked and captured Edessa at the north-east of the Christian kingdom.

The fall of Edessa was the immediate cause of the second crusade; its inspiration came from the great monk, Bernard of Clairvaux, the greatest figure in the ecclesiastical world of that time. The second crusade was not a success, although it was headed by the German Emperor Conrad and the French king, Louis VII. The expedition was a mighty one, but mismanagement, dissensions and treachery broke it to pieces. The way was being made ready for a great advance of the Moslem arms.

During these earlier years of the kingdom of Jerusalem there had grown up the two famous orders of the Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John or Hospitallers. These were orders of knights who took religious vows of celibacy and poverty like monks, but were sworn to give their lives to fighting against the infidels. They admitted to their ranks none but men of high birth. At first brilliant soldiers in the service of the Cross, the orders soon acquired great wealth and vast possessions. In later days the Templars at least were charged with having entered into treasonous relations with the Turks, which is quite possible, and also with having leagued themselves with the powers of darkness—a less plausible charge to modern ears. But there is no manner of doubt that they did entirely degenerate from the ideals which moved the founders of the order.

The Latin kingdom did not recover ground, though much might have been done by a more skilful prince than Amalric, the brother and successor of Baldwin III. For Egypt was rent with faction, and one of the factions appealed for aid to the Christians. The opportunity was thrown away; a Seljuk general and his army were also called in, and it was the Seljuk who made himself master of Egypt in the character of vizier or chief minister of the Egyptian kaliph.

**Fall of
Edessa,
1145.**

**Second
Crusade,
1147.**

**Knights
Templars
and
Hospitallers.**

Amalric.

The Seljuk vizier was succeeded by his nephew Salah-ed-din Yusuf, familiar in history and romance as the great Soldan Saladin, who made it his business to restore and complete the supremacy of the Turks in the Mohammedan world.

The reconquest of Palestine itself was only a part of the Imperial designs of Saladin. To him the reconquest of Asia Minor and the mastery of Mesopotamia mattered **4. Second Period.** more than a strip of territory between Asia Minor and Egypt, which was never a real menace to the Moslem power. Still, it did form a part of his scheme; and he was materially aided in it by the dissensions which arose within the Latin kingdom itself. The successor of Amalric was Baldwin iv. But Baldwin's great qualities were of no avail against the terrible disease of leprosy to which he was a victim, and when he died there was a bitter contest for the Latin Crown. The successful claimant was the incompetent Guy of Lusignan, Baldwin's brother-in-law. But King Guy was ill-supported. Saladin, who had been decisively defeated by Baldwin, fell upon the Christian kingdom, smote its armies at the battle of Tiberias, and then recaptured city after city till at last Jerusalem itself was in his hands. The small province of Tripolis, and the fortress of Tyre, valiantly defended by that Conrad of Montferrat (who figures in Scott's *Talisman*), were almost all that remained to the Christians. **Saladin.** **The Latin Kingdom, 1186.**

The capture of Jerusalem once more seemed to have roused Europe to a great crusade, which should have been overwhelming. Even the strife between the pope and the emperor was hushed by that great disaster. Frederick Barbarossa, one of the greatest of the emperors; Philip Augustus, King of France; Richard the Lion Heart, Lord of Aquitaine, of Normandy, of half France, and King of England to boot; dukes and counts innumerable;—took the Cross for the deliverance of the Holy Land. The emperor and his great army went by land; the rest descended upon Palestine by sea. The German army drove its way through Asia Minor, only to go utterly to pieces when the emperor died suddenly just as it was entering Syria. The other princes **The Third Crusade, 1189.**

gathered before Acre, but were held inert by feuds among their leaders. The feuds only became the fiercer with the late arrival of Richard of England, the ablest soldier among them, but the most impracticable of allies.

Acre was taken, but enthusiasm for the cause had vanished. Princes and dukes one after another began with one accord to discover excellent reasons for returning to their own dominions. Richard and those who remained with him performed brilliant feats of arms, but neither achieved a conquest, nor displayed statesmanship nor diplomacy; and the third crusade ended with an armistice which left the seaboard in the hands of the Christians from Tyre to Jaffa, but kept Jerusalem in the hands of the Turks.

The inspiration of the third crusade was the most powerful which had moved Europe since the time of Peter the Hermit. The crusade itself had been wrecked by the persistent inability of the Christians to subordinate personal claims and ambitions to victory in what all professed to regard as the cause of Christianity. The first enthusiasm had died out, and was never to be aroused again. There were more great expeditions, but it is difficult to say how many of them are entitled to be called crusades. That which is generally called the fourth followed hard after the third. It was organised by the German Emperor, Henry VI.; but he took no part in it himself, and its successful beginnings turned into ignominious collapse.

The fifth crusade came with the opening of the thirteenth century. It was transformed into an attack on the Greek Empire instead of on the Moslems. We shall hear more of it in another chapter. Here it will be sufficient to say that the Imperial dominion in Europe was partitioned, and the so-called Latin Empire set up, which lasted for about half a century, after which there was a Greek restoration.

The sixth crusade was undertaken by the Emperor Frederick II. But the pope and the emperor were in extreme antagonism to each other, and matters reached a stage at which Frederick found that whether he started or whether he did not start his

proceedings were equally certain to be condemned. When he did sail, it was under the papal ban. He made Egypt his objective, since that country was now coming to be regarded as the real gate of Palestine. Frederick, like a modern statesman, preferred diplomacy to fighting, if he could thereby gain his ends; and in fact he obtained from the Egyptian sultan a treaty which virtually restored to the Christians Jerusalem itself, with other sacred spots, besides the port of Jaffa. Frederick was crowned King of Jerusalem, while the clergy unanimously treated him as an excommunicated enemy of the Church. Frederick's diplomatic triumph was only a fresh cause of offence, and he himself returned to Europe to continue his contest with the pope. From the point of view of Christianity, the spectacle presented to the Moslems was scarcely edifying.

**Sixth
Crusade,
1229.**

As a natural result the peace was not maintained. Eleven years later there was an English crusade. This, which may be called the seventh, won what was practically a renewal of the treaty with Frederick; chiefly perhaps because the sultans of Egypt and Syria were at odds with each other. Then came the disastrous and devastating expansion of the Mongols, which drove before it a host of barbaric tribes from the east, who inundated Palestine and wrought appalling havoc.

**Seventh
Crusade,
1240.**

The kingdom of Jerusalem was once more shattered, and an eighth crusade was headed by King Louis IX. of France. He invaded Egypt; but the first successes had a disastrous effect on the discipline of the army, which brought about a tremendous rout of the crusading force. Louis himself was made a prisoner. Ultimately he was ransomed, and again some years later he headed a ninth crusade. He died before reaching Egypt, and the command of the crusading army was taken up by Prince Edward, who was soon to become Edward I. of England. One campaign, though not unsuccessfully conducted, was sufficient to show the prince that he could accomplish nothing of permanence, and he obtained practically nothing more than a truce for ten years. The kingdom of Jerusalem became merely the shadow of a name, since

**Eighth
and Ninth
Crusades.**

the crusading spirit of Europe was thoroughly exhausted. For two centuries more we hear of princes and captains who made pious resolutions to strike one more blow for the Cross in Palestine, but they invariably found that the blow must be deferred until some other task nearer home was completed. The last real crusade was that of Prince Edward, if even that can be called a real one. A few years later the order of the Knights Templars was destroyed by the King of France, though the Knights Hospitallers survived in Cyprus and in Rhodes and in Malta for some centuries.

The era of the crusades in its earlier stages was not without its advantages for the Greek Empire. Alexius Comnenus and his successors were men of ability, and the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was a check on the advance of the Seljuks, whose dominions were already breaking up into several states. The Greek influence was extended in Asia Minor, and the emperors were able to deal vigorously with the enemies who had threatened their European territories on the north. On the other hand they lost the last remnants of their possessions in Southern Italy when the Normans became masters of Naples. There was a moment when it even seemed possible that the Emperor Manuel might effect a reconciliation with the papacy, and appear as its ally in the struggle between Alexander III. and Frederick Barbarossa, which is recorded in the next chapter. But reconciliation could not from the papal point of view mean anything short of the subjection of the Greek Church to the papal authority. Manuel was not long in finding out that ecclesiastical agreement was impossible, and that the western emperor was more likely to assert his own claims to be the universal Emperor of Christendom than to permit any extension of the claims of Byzantium.

In fact Latin Christendom was hostile to Greek Christendom, and this was made manifest when a crusade was diverted from Palestine in the time of Innocent III., and was directed instead against the Greek Empire mainly for the benefit of the Venetians. The Greek princes were forced to betake themselves to Asia Minor,

**End of the
Crusades,
1272.**

**5. Eastern
Europe.
The Greek
Empire under
the Comneni.**

**The Greek
Emperors ex-
pelled, 1204.**

while the European peninsula was divided among the so-called crusaders ; Venice which had provided the ships receiving the lion's share. The conquerors dealt as much destruction in Constantinople as if they had been led by an Alaric or an Attila. The crusaders received papal commendation and blessing, and set up Baldwin, Count of Flanders, as a new emperor, the Venetian doge having declined the office. To this new empire we must apply the common term 'Latin' or 'Frank,' the name by which all the western Europeans without discrimination were known to the Moslems. It was the mission of this Latin kingdom to overturn whatever was established in the Greek world, and to reconstruct the east on western models.

In Asia Minor, however, the Greek line maintained itself and Greek provinces developed, notably at Trebizond on the Black Sea, which later became independent dominions.

The story of the Latin Empire is what the Latin Empire deserved. Bulgaria sought to revive its own dominion, and struck fierce blows against the new empire. The empire had hardly struggled through half a century of existence, when the Greeks once more got possession of Constantinople, and the Latin dominion came to an end. But the old power of the empire was irrecoverably lost, although 200 years were to pass before it fell finally to the Ottoman power.

Europe on the east of the German Empire and north of the Byzantine Empire was occupied almost entirely by Slavonic peoples of varying types and varying degrees of civilisation or uncivilisation, except where the Mongol Magyars had thrust in a wedge in Hungary, leaving the Bulgarians behind them on the Danube, and behind them sundry tribes which are generally called Turkish—the Cumans and Pechenegs—who have taken no permanent place in history. On the north of Hungary lay Poland, and on the east of Poland lay those various duchies and kingdoms which pass by the name of the Russian Empire. These two Slavonic states were cut off from the Baltic almost entirely by more barbaric Slavonic tribes, among whom are numbered the Prussians. It is curious that the non-German Prussian people should have given

**Latins at Constantinople,
1204-1261.**

The Slavs.

their name to the greatest of the German kingdoms which should more properly have retained its own name of Brandenburg.

During the crusading period the districts on the south of the Baltic Sea were colonised, and to a great extent Germanised by **The Teutonic Knights.** the Saxons. The work was carried further along the eastern shores of the Baltic by the half-military, half-religious orders called the Knights of the Sword and the Teutonic Knights, instituted after the model of the Knights Templars and Hospitallers. These realms, however, were never really brought under the sway of the empire; they were the last outposts of the heathen in Europe, and the Teutonic Knights were Christian outposts among them, offering an occasional alternative to Palestine and Spain for adventurous spirits who desired to do battle with the pagans. They passed eventually either to Brandenburg or to the Polish or the Russian kingdom.

Poland advanced slowly. The progress of Russia, which with the Greek Empire was the buffer between Aryan Europe and **The Mongols in Russia.** the Mongolian peoples of Asia, was stopped and thrown back for centuries by a tremendous incursion of Tartar hordes in the thirteenth century. The Tartars or Mongols surged even further to the west; they poured into Poland, and won a great victory at Liegnitz; they turned into Hungary where they threatened to displace the Magyars. Then apparently for no more convincing reason than the death of their Khan they retired, contenting themselves with setting up a dominion on the Volga to which the Russians remained in subjection.

This irruption was a part of the sudden and tremendous expansion of the Mongols under the leadership of Timujin, better **The Mongol Expansion.** known by his title of Genghis Khan. The Mongol torrent swept through Western Asia as well as through Europe. It completed the disruption of the kaliphate of Bagdad, and in fact brought it to an end. The Seljuks were wise in time, and escaped annihilation by submission. But when the tide rolled down upon Egypt, the power which had shattered the crusade of St. Louis proved equal to the task of rolling back

the Mongols. From this time forward Egypt was ruled by the Mamelukes, a magnificent body of soldiery composed primarily of young slaves trained to arms. Mameluke captains succeeded each other as masters of Egypt, but the Mameluke soldiers proved themselves more than a match for all foreign enemies.

The Mongol tide rolled eastwards as well as westwards; it brought all China under its sway. Perhaps its most striking characteristic was the completeness of its tolerance for all religions, and the thoroughness with which as a rule it wiped out those who had defied it. The dominion, however, so vast and so suddenly achieved, could not last, and the Mongol Empire soon broke up.



CHAPTER XIII

THE WEST IN THE CRUSADING ERA

POPE GREGORY VII. died in exile, believing himself defeated, while an anti-pope set up by the Emperor Henry claimed the obedience of the Church. But before he himself had ascended the papal throne, when he was still Hildebrand, he had secured the papal decree which placed the papal election in the hands of the cardinals, the select band or college of bishops, priests and deacons appointed as counsellors by the popes. The College of Cardinals repudiated the Imperial appointment as having no authority, and chose Pope Victor and after him Urban II. The emperor had his supporters chiefly among the German ecclesiastics, who did not wish to be subordinate to the Italians, and were not in love with the rigorous views on ecclesiastical discipline which formed a fundamental part of Gregory's conception of Church policy. But the Church at large held by the Gregorian party, which magnified the ecclesiastical against the secular office. Henry was paralysed by contests with the great nobles of the empire and with his own sons. Pope Urban strengthened his position immensely, as we have seen, by the part he played in connection with the first crusade.

Finally, the emperor was compelled to abdicate, giving place to his son Henry V., who had owed his advancement largely to ecclesiastical support. He was no sooner established on the throne than he reasserted his claims in the question on investitures; his right, that is, in effect to bestow ecclesiastical dignities. The contest in its

most serious form was brought to an end by the agreement of 1122 called the Concordat of Worms, whereby it was settled that ecclesiastical dignitaries should be chosen by the cathedral chapters, that is, the clergy definitely associated with the cathedrals, and should be invested with ecclesiastical authority by the Church; but that they should also do homage to the emperor or king for the temporalities, in effect the land held by them from him as his vassals.

On Henry's death he left no son, and his nominee as successor, Frederick of Swabia, was rejected in favour of **The Swabian** Lothair of Saxony. On his death, however, Conrad **Line.** of Swabia was elected German king; and from this period dates the rivalry of the Swabian house of Hohenstaufen and the Saxon house of the Welfs or Guelfs, the rivalry between the Guelfs and Ghibellines. The name Ghibelline is the Italian corruption of Waiblingen, which, like Hohenstaufen, was a place-name of the Swabian house. The name Hohenstaufen, however, is the one usually appropriated to the dynasty. Conrad was never crowned emperor. He was much occupied with the antagonism of the rival Saxon house, and took a reluctant and far from successful part in the ignominious second crusade.

On his death the election fell not on his son, but on his nephew Frederick, known as Barbarossa, whose mother **2. Frederick** was a Guelf. Frederick's first concern was with **Barbarossa,** Italy. He entered the peninsula primarily with **1152-1190.** the intention of lowering the pride of the great city of Milan. His arms were immediately successful, and he withdrew again after receiving the Imperial Crown from Pope Hadrian IV., the only Englishman who has ever occupied the papal chair. But he very soon found himself obliged to return.

As a general rule in Europe during the Middle Ages our attention is attracted to the power of great nobles acting perpetually so as to prevent the Crown from **Cities of** acquiring an effective supremacy. But beside **Germany** the power of the nobles, we find in Germany **and Italy.** that certain great cities achieved a power which gave them the

same kind of independence that the great nobles had. In Germany the policy of Frederick fostered the free-cities and multiplied them as a counterpoise to the nobility. But the city development was more marked in Italy than in Germany. All over the northern portion of Italy, which was now called Lombardy, there had developed a large number of city states almost on the ancient model. One great city, Venice, still stood outside the western Empire; it had persistently professed allegiance to the eastern. It had already grown great in its isolation, and the Venetian fleets were the most effective opponents of the Saracens in the Mediterranean. **Venice and Lombardy.** Venice however stood outside the Imperial quarrels, though it was one of the greatest of the Italian cities. Milan, Pavia, Parma, Modena, and Bologna in Lombardy, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence, were some of the cities which had attained to the highest prosperity. Naturally there were rivalries between the cities, and Milan was beginning to hold an ascendancy which threatened to become oppressive. In short the position of affairs is extremely suggestive of the political conditions of Greece and of Italy fifteen hundred years before. Among these cities the emperor appears as the paramount power, responsible for order, to whom obedience is due. But as a matter of fact the emperor is in the eyes of the Italians a foreigner and a barbarian, almost as the Persian monarch was a foreigner and a barbarian in the eyes of the Ionian Greeks.

Frederick intervened in Italy partly at least at the call of the cities which were threatened by the growing power of Milan. But his intervention was a vigorous assertion of **Frederick and his own authority.** The emperor was more **the Lombard dangerous than Milan,** and this fact was emphasised when Frederick returned to Italy and laid the obstinate city in ruins. **League.**

The friendship between emperor and pope had been short-lived. Hadrian himself reasserted the claim of the Holy See to stand above the emperor, and Hadrian's successor Alexander III. proved himself a very effective antagonist. Frederick was no less determined to assert the Imperial supremacy as it had been exercised by Charlemagne and Otto. The whole moral

support of the papacy was given to the movement against the German monarch's ascendancy in Italy. A number of the Lombard cities united in the Lombard League for the expulsion of the foreigner from Italian territory. The struggle was long and fiercely contested; but the Lombard League was finally successful, and its cause was won in the great victory of Legano. The emperor was not indeed expelled from Italy, but the cities secured a virtual independence. Venice always adopting the attitude of a neutral at last acted as mediator between pope and emperor, and Frederick withdrew the claim of the secular power to supremacy over the spiritual. Alexander III. in effect raised the papacy to the height of its power; for a similar struggle had been in progress at the same time in England between the Crown and the Church, represented by Henry II. and Thomas à Becket. In that struggle the Archbishop lost his life, and, dying, won the victory for the Church.

At first sight our sympathies are apt to be drawn wholly to the side of the Italian cities in the struggle to shake off the yoke of a foreign dominion. A closer examination must convince us also that the Imperial supremacy in Italy never could have been anything but a foreign dominion, a dominion of Germans over Italians. But it is no less necessary to recognise that the ideal for which Frederick was fighting was not that of a German dominion. He was not an aggressive conqueror happily defeated; he was not even the successor of conquerors striving to maintain an authority which his predecessors had won. There were on his side Italians who supported him from purely selfish motives. But there were others who were devoted to the Imperial ideal as an ideal. Their conception and Frederick's was that of the unity of the Christian commonwealth, acknowledging the emperor as the head of the commonwealth on earth. It was a conception which precisely corresponded to that of Hildebrand, which regarded Christendom as a unity under the governance of a spiritual authority supreme over secular powers, regulating them all and claiming the obedience of them all. The Imperialists would have placed this supreme authority in the Emperor

instead of the Pope as God's vicegerent. Italian patriots with an ideal of unity even for Italy itself could see no hope of obtaining it save through the empire, through an emperor who in virtue of his office was not German nor Italian, but the divinely appointed head of Christendom. The victory of the Lombard League brought Italy no step nearer to Italian unity; and that fact explains why it was possible for the most patriotic Italians to desire the Imperial victory, however confident we may feel that Frederick's triumph would not have meant the attainment of the desired ideal.

Frederick's defeat did, on the other hand, mean not only the liberation of the Italian cities from a German **The Papal Triumph.** master, but the triumph of the papacy which **Triumph.** was won by Alexander III., and was wielded with tremendous effect by his mighty successor Innocent III.

Frederick failed in Italy, but in Germany his rule was extremely successful. He multiplied the free cities; the cities, that is, which recognised the Imperial authority, but governed themselves without being subject to the **Frederick in Germany.** control of great feudal lords. He mastered the **Germany.** nobles, including Henry the Lion of Saxony, who behaved virtually as an independent monarch, and he strengthened the secondary orders of the nobility and the freemen. He died, as we have seen, when marching on the third crusade, and became one of the heroes of the German people; so that legend declared that he was not dead, but lay only in an enchanted sleep, from which he should one day arise to rescue Germany in the hour of her utmost need.

Frederick's successor was his son Henry VI., who acquired for himself the Norman kingdom of Sicily in right of his wife. Henry died leaving an infant son, afterwards **3. After Frederick II.,** whose claims were at first set aside, **Barbarossa.** and the boy was brought up not in the least as a German but as a Sicilian.

The great Pope Innocent III. ruled during the years between the death of the Emperor Henry and the recovery of the Imperial Crown by Frederick II. So powerful was he that he could assert his authority to depose kings, and require them to

receive their crown at his hand. Monarchs who in this way submitted themselves to him included the kings of Portugal, **Innocent III.**, Aragon, and Poland, and king John of Eng-
1198. land. Throughout the thirteenth century the Church was able to exercise a greater political control than at any other period of its history. Indirectly, also, its influence was greatly increased by the establishment of the orders of Mendicant Friars, the Franciscans and Dominicans, who, for a time at least, lived up to the principles of their founders, preaching and practising a higher morality than the clergy had taught by precept or example during the past.

When Frederick II. wrested the Imperial Crown from the Saxon claimant Otto, the strife with the papacy was renewed. **Frederick II.** The popes claimed that the Norman kingdom of
1215-1250. Sicily was held as a papal fief. Frederick, known in his own day as the 'wonder of the world,' the most brilliantly accomplished prince who ever occupied a throne, was a man living in an age wholly unsuited to him. His ideas were those which did not become prevalent till centuries after his death. To the men of his own day he seemed no better than an infidel. We have seen how his crusading efforts only intensified the breach between him and Pope Gregory IX. He returned from the east to carry on the contest almost immediately afterwards with Gregory and his successor Innocent IV. Gregory even went so far as to proclaim a crusade against him. Italy was divided between the parties now known as the Guelfs and Ghibellines, equivalent to Papalists and Imperialists. There were Guelf cities and Ghibelline cities, and in most of them a Guelf faction and a Ghibelline faction.

Frederick's son Conrad succeeded him in Sicily, and as German king, but never received the Imperial Crown; and **End of the** with him, in fact, ended the line of the Hohen-
Hohenstaufen. staufen. His half-brother Manfred endeavoured to maintain grip of Sicily and Southern Italy in the name of his nephew Conrad, the actual heir, who is generally known as Conradin. But Manfred was overthrown and slain at the great battle of Benevento. A last effort was made by the gallant young Conradin; but he, too, was crushed, taken prisoner in

a great battle, and executed as a rebel against the lawful King of Sicily.

This 'lawful King' was Charles of Anjou. It will not be forgotten that in the eleventh century the Norman Robert Guiscard and his kinsmen had conquered, and **Charles of Anjou.** then received as fiefs from the pope, Southern Italy and Sicily; and that these dominions were combined in the Norman kingdom of the two Sicilies, that is, Sicily itself and the kingdom of Naples. This was the dominion which the emperor Henry VI. had added to his realms by marrying the heiress of the last Norman king. After the death of Conrad, the son of Frederick II., when his illegitimate brother Manfred held the Sicilian kingdom professedly on behalf of Conradin, the pope, Urban IV., who was a Frenchman, bestowed the crown, as being in the papal gift, on Charles, Count of Anjou and of Provence, the brother of King Louis IX. Hence it was Charles of Anjou who overthrew both Manfred and Conradin. The supremacy of the Swabian House of Hohenstaufen disappeared both in Italy and in Germany at the moment when the last crusade was starting.

Had either Manfred or Conradin proved successful, the fortunes of the house might have been restored. In Italy its power had at least survived as long as Manfred **The German** lived. But in Germany there was something like **Interregnum.** chaos from the time of Conrad's death. It had now become the established right of seven German princes to elect the German king. All through the thirteenth century the German king had been so much occupied with Italy that he had ceased to exercise effective control in Germany. The seven electors had no desire to revive the Imperial power. Instead of choosing a German, half of them elected Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., King of England, and the other half chose Alfonso the Wise, King of Castile, who showed his wisdom by stopping at home, while Richard of Cornwall was absolutely powerless. Consequently, there was no controlling force in Germany where every man did that which was right in his own eyes according to his powers. At last the electors realised that some degree of efficiency was needed in a head of

the whole of the state, and Rudolf of Hapsburg was chosen German king, though he was by no means possessed, in his own territorial dominion, of the wealth and resources on which the Saxon, Franconian, or Swabian emperors had been able to rely. We have reached, in short, a point at which Italy ceases to be bound up with the German Empire; and the emperor, when any one does receive the Imperial Crown, no longer has that semblance of universal authority which had hitherto attached to his person.

The name of Alfonso the Wise of Castile, and the fact that he was chosen by some of the electoral princes to be emperor, is significant of the changes which had been taking place in Spain since the fall of the kaliphate of Cordova. From the northern strip of territory, washed by the waters of the Bay of Biscay, the kingdom of Castile, having absorbed that of Leon, pushed southward until towards the close of the eleventh century it had driven the Moors beyond the Tagus. The career of conquest, however, was checked by the arrival of a fresh Moorish immigration, and Spain was turned into a sort of crusading area, where men might go to fight the Moslem instead of transplanting themselves to Syria. The achievements of the Cid Campeador belong partly to the regions of romance; nevertheless, they have a solid historical basis. Different and antagonistic Moorish dynasties succeeded each other, and the tide of success ebbed and flowed throughout the twelfth century. For the Christians were no more united than the Moors. From the French marches and the region lying between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, the kingdom of Aragon was pushing forward, while the north-eastern corner of Spain, including Barcelona, was joined to the county of Provence, the southern portion of Burgundy. Navarre, between Aragon and Castile, was another small independent kingdom; and the Christians who had pushed into Portugal refused to recognise Castile's supremacy. Barcelona and the province of Catalonia, however, soon became associated with Aragon; and this kingdom developed a considerable naval power, acquired possession of the western islands of the Mediterranean, and

was later able to extend its sphere of action to Sicily, where we shall presently find the royal house of Aragon laying claim to the Sicilian Crown. All these Spanish kingdoms, however, were in a state of mutual rivalry, which counterbalanced the rivalries between the Moorish dynasties. Even Castile itself was again separated from Leon. Christian princes allied themselves with one or another of the Moorish factions, and sometimes even sought Moorish aid against their Christian rivals.

Early in the thirteenth century, however, when Innocent III. was pope, Alfonso of Castile, called the Noble, irritated the Moors up to such a point that they sank their quarrels, proclaimed a religious war, and gathered a host of Moslems from Africa to aid them. In the face of the tremendous danger, the Christian princes united, and a great defeat was inflicted on the Moors at the decisive battle of Navas de Tolosa. The Moorish power was driven back into the kingdom of Granada. Castile and Leon were presently united again permanently. The only real rival to Castilian supremacy in the peninsula was Aragon, though Portugal had securely established her own independence, and was establishing her maritime reputation on the west.

While the German emperors were waging their long struggle with the popes, and seeking to maintain in Italy a supremacy which the antagonism between Germans and Italians made impossible, France and England were both being consolidated into powerful kingdoms. The process, however, was following different lines in the different countries. From the time when Hugh Capet, as premier noble of France, secured the throne for his own family, it had been the business of the king to remain the premier noble, and to make himself something more. At the beginning of the twelfth century, he was hardly so much. His great feudatories of Normandy, of Anjou, of Aquitaine, of Toulouse, each of them ruled over territory as great as the royal domain.

The policy of the French king, which was followed systematically from the early part of the twelfth century, was that of

**The Moors
driven back,
1212.**

**5. The French
Monarchy.**

adding to the royal estate lands previously held by vassals, either by way of forfeiture, or occasionally by marriage. Thus Louis VI. penalised misconduct on the part of sundry of his vassals by claiming the right of forfeiture under feudal law. He attempted a still more effective stroke by marrying his son to Eleanor, the heiress of Aquitaine, a district composed of sundry duchies and counties, covering a quarter of France. Unluckily for the Crown, Aquitaine was, after all, not converted into Crown territory, because Louis VII. and his queen quarrelled so seriously that they were divorced. It happened at this moment that the north-western quarter of France was practically all in the hands of one great feudatory. This was Henry of Anjou, who held sundry territories through his father, the Count of Anjou, and others through his mother, the heiress of Normandy, through whom he also claimed the English throne. When Louis divorced Eleanor, Henry seized his opportunity and married her, so that roughly the two western quarters of France, and in fact something more, were united under the Angevin dominion. Henry was Louis's vassal in respect of all these territories, but the vassal was quite as strong as the king. We may compare the position in Germany at much the same date, when Henry the Lion of Saxony held a dominion which could challenge the power of the emperor; though in this case the sovereign proved himself more powerful than the vassal. Henry of Anjou, however, was also king, and a very powerful king, of England, and would certainly have proved himself altogether too strong for the King of France, if his own sons had not risen up against him. Henry was succeeded by his son Richard Coeur de Lion, and Louis by one of the ablest and most unscrupulous of all the French kings, Philip Augustus, or Philip II. It was Philip's great object to break the power of Richard by fair means or foul. Both the princes went on the third crusade, but Philip found excuse to return home, while Richard remained in Palestine. Fortune favoured him still further, when Richard was captured on his way home by his enemy, the Duke of Austria, and was held a prisoner for some time. Philip

improved his opportunity by fostering the disloyalty of Richard's vassals in France, and of his brother John in England. When Richard was at last released, he paid only a flying visit to England, and returned to his continental dominions, bent on organising a great combination for the destruction of Philip; but his career was cut short by a mortal wound received when he was on an expedition to chastise a recalcitrant vassal.

Richard's brother John succeeded to the Crown of England, by election, in accordance with English practice; but the heir to his French dominions, by feudal law, was his nephew, Arthur of Brittany, the son of an elder brother. Philip supported the boy's claims. John got Arthur into his own hands, and the boy disappeared. John became the undisputed heir, but Philip summoned him to answer for the death of Arthur. John declined to obey, and Philip claimed the forfeiture of his domains. As a matter of course there was a war, in which Philip was completely successful. In the notable battle of Bouvines, he inflicted a total defeat upon

**Philip of
France
and John
of England.**

1214.

John and his ally, Otto, the German emperor, who very shortly afterwards was displaced by Frederick II. The final result of the war was to leave John in possession of little more than Guienne in the south-west of France. The King of England was still a French noble, but the King of France had enormously increased the Crown domains, and there was now no magnate in the kingdom who could challenge his supremacy.

Toulouse also was practically secured for the Crown in the same reign. There had arisen in that part of France a heretical sect called the Albigenses. Pope Innocent III. authorised a crusade against them, which was conducted with extreme cruelty. Count Raimond of Toulouse endeavoured to extend to them some slight protection; consequently, the count was deprived of most of his possessions, which were transformed into a papal fief, and a few years later were transferred by their holder to the French king.

**The Albi-
genses.**

Further advance was made in increasing the power of the French king under Louis IX., called St. Louis, whom we have

met in the rôle of a crusader. The virtues of Louis achieved, in their own way, almost as much as the craft of Philip II.

St. Louis. Louis acquired the position of a sort of universal arbitrator, because all men knew that his awards would be dictated, not by policy, but wholly by principle. He may fairly be regarded as the ideal of a Christian king, and the undoubted trust and confidence which he inspired gave the Crown an enormous prestige, which may be compared with that won by our own King Alfred nearly four centuries before. Thus, by the close of the crusading era, France had at last attained the possession of a strong central government in the control of the king.

Hitherto we have said little about England, which remained almost outside the stream of European history until the Norman

6. England. Conquest, and even after that time only appeared on the continental stage as an appanage of the greatest feudatory of the French Crown. But England was now about to intervene as an independent state, and a brief sketch of the course of her development becomes necessary.

A Retrospective Sketch. Angles and Saxons in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries had conquered all but the hilly regions of the west, from the Forth to the English Channel; Angles pushing in from the east coast, Saxons from the south and south-east. The groups of conquerors set up separate kingdoms among which one or another was generally recognised as holding a vague supremacy, which was always liable to be wrested from it. In all, the general principles of government prevailed, which we have observed as characteristic of the Teutons. At the beginning of the ninth century the supremacy passed from the midland kingdom of Mercia to the southern kingdom of Wessex. But during the same century the Danes poured in, in increasing numbers, first as marauders, and then as conquerors.

The Danish conquest was stayed by King Alfred of Wessex, who, however, found it politic to allow them to remain in **Alfred and his** partial occupation of the north-east half of Eng-
Successors. land, under the supremacy of the King of Wessex as king of all England. Alfred's successors were able to

establish a real control over this great district which was known as the Danelagh. On the other hand, the Celtic kings of the western Scots succeeded in extending their own supremacy over the lands between the Forth and the Tweed. **Scotland.**

But at the beginning of the eleventh century the flagrant misrule of Ethelred the Redeless enabled the King of Denmark to make common cause with the Danes of the Danelagh, and compel the English to acknowledge his sovereignty. Canute the Great became King of England and Denmark; and there was a likelihood that a great Scandinavian dominion would be established, of which England would form a part. But there was no second Canute to follow the first; the dominion broke up, and the English recalled a king of the line of Alfred, Edward the Confessor, who had been brought up in exile at the Norman court. Canute, in pursuance of his Imperial schemes, had divided England into great provinces, which in some degree corresponded to the great feudal domains in France and Germany; and again it seemed probable that the Crown would be dominated by great feudatories. The English Crown had always gone by election, though, except in the case of the Danish kings, the election had been limited in practice to the royal family of Wessex and commonly to the eldest son; but, on the death of Edward the Confessor, the election fell on the greatest of the earls, Harold. **England in the Eleventh Century.**

William, Duke of Normandy, however, claimed that both Edward and Harold had promised the succession to him. He invaded England, overthrew Harold at the battle of Hastings, and caused himself to be elected King of England. King Harald of Norway had struck his own stroke for the Crown and lost, at the battle of Stamford Bridge, a few days before Hastings. Sweyn, King of Denmark, would have challenged William had the English been ready to support him; but though there was an English revolt, its figurehead was Edgar the Atheling, the young prince of the house of Wessex. Sweyn drew back, and William used the revolt as an excuse for forfeiting most of the land of England, and bestowing it on his Norman followers. **The Norman Conquest, 1066.**

But William created no great fiefs. Instead, he created a number of small earldoms, none of them sufficiently large to be a source of danger; and the land was further divided up among an immense number of small barons or tenants-in-chief, who held it directly from the Crown, and owed allegiance to no overlord, except the king. Also, he maintained to the full the overlord's right of controlling the marriages of vassals, so that he prevented great estates from being accumulated by marriages in the hands of single families. Hence William and his two sons were always able to crush any attempts at defiance on the part of nobles. The Normans individually exercised for long a cruel oppression over the English; but, even if they attempted to combine against the Crown, the Crown could call the English to its aid against them.

But after the Conqueror's two sons, their incompetent nephew Stephen of Blois, the son of William's daughter Adela, got himself elected king. Then came a frightful period of anarchy. His claim to the Crown was challenged by Matilda or Maud, the daughter of the last king Henry I. Every man fought with his neighbour, and there was no government at all, till the whole country was thirsting for a restoration of order.

The contest for the Crown was settled by an agreement that Matilda's son Henry should succeed on the death of Stephen, when he ascended the throne as Henry II., the first of the Plantagenets. We have already observed how the history of France was affected during the next hundred years by its relations with its Angevin vassals, who were also kings of England. In France Henry was the most dangerous of the vassals of the king; in England it was his business to make the Crown supreme, and to reorganise the government which had gone so hopelessly to pieces under Stephen. He made it his object not only to secure to the Crown such a supremacy as it had enjoyed under the Conqueror's sons; he also established the system under which law was enforced and justice generally prevailed. He also made a great effort to make the Church subject to the ordinary law of the realm, but he was finally defeated in the contest with Becket, who was zealously supported by Pope Alexander III.

**The Norman
Kings, 1066-
1135.**

**The Planta-
genets :
Henry II.,
1154.**

When the strong hand of the great king was removed, his successor Richard left the kingdom almost entirely in the hands of regents. Where a king was able, vigorous, and just, the concentration of power in his hands produced good government. King John showed how bad government could be under the king who played the tyrant. The effect of his rule was to combine the clergy, barons and commons in com- **Magna Carta,** pelling him to pledge himself to maintain instead of **1215.** breaking the laws of the land, as set forth in the Great Charter which he was forced to seal at Runnymede. Kings after that might attempt to ride roughshod over the Charter, but when they did so their opponents could make a point of claiming that the law was higher than the king, and that they stood for law. There lay the fundamental principle of English liberty.

However strong the kings of England had been hitherto, they had always acted at least nominally in concert with the Great Council of the nation. In practice, the Great **Parliament.** Council had been an assembly of magnates known in Saxon times as the Witan. Since the Conquest nearly all the magnates were Normans, but the Council was not supposed to have changed its character. It is possible that in theory any freeman was allowed to attend it. It was practically established by the Charter that the king could not alter the laws of the land, or make demands for money, or imprison any one without trial, without the assent of the Great Council. John's successor, Henry III., during a reign of more than fifty years, repeatedly set the Charter at defiance. The barons combined to resist him, and to maintain their rights under the Charter. **Simon de** Under the leadership of Simon de Montfort they **Montfort.** even compelled him to submit himself to the control of a committee of barons. However much individual barons may have been guided by purely personal interest, they were obliged to act as champions of the law and of public welfare, and Montfort himself was no less careful of the rights of the lesser barons and the common folk than of those of the greater barons. Although Montfort fell finally, the contest destroyed the power of the king to act arbitrarily, and established the right of the Council, which now began to be called Parliament, to be consulted.

The most striking fact however was the new character which was given to parliament by the creation or development of representation. The great barons in their own interests would naturally attend the Council ; not so the smaller barons, minor land-holders and townsmen. The innovation which was introduced simply as a matter of convenience, was the summoning of elected representatives, first from the shires, and then from the boroughs, also by Simon de Montfort. In this way a body of men was regularly assembled, who could combine to express the opinion of the free citizens and land-holders, and that opinion could make itself effectively felt.

We have also to note that while the kingdom of Scotland remained independent, though her king still paid homage to the king of England for lands held in England as the Ireland. kings of England did homage to the kings of France for lands held in France, Ireland had become a part of the English king's dominion in the reign of Henry II. Ireland itself was not a kingdom, but was composed of a number of very loosely related principalities. Partly by conquest and partly by marriages, sundry Norman barons were permitted to take possession of great estates in Ireland for which King Henry required them to do him homage ; and homage was also exacted from the native Irish chiefs. Henry called himself Lord of Ireland instead of king, as authority to take possession was supposed to have been granted to him by the pope, Hadrian IV.

Lastly, the loss of three-fourths of the French possessions by King John turned what was left into provinces held by the King of England in a foreign country. Hitherto the English kingdom had been on the whole of less consequence to the Norman and Angevin kings than their French dominions, and half the barons of England had also been barons of Normandy. Now the barons of England were Englishmen ; and Henry III.'s successor, Edward I., the bearer of a purely English name, had to consolidate the power of England, not of Anjou, as a nation of the first rank. The last of the crusaders was the first of the real English kings.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES : GERMANY, ITALY, AND THE PAPACY

WITH the close of the crusading period, Western Europe with the exception of Venice almost gave up its interest in the east. The nations of the west were engaged in giving themselves a more and more definite shape, during the two hundred years which are now coming under our review. France and England became gradually engaged in a long struggle, during which it seemed possible at two separate periods—one in the fourteenth and one in the fifteenth century—that the King of England might become the Lord of France. On each occasion France recovered herself and expelled the English. The attempts of the English kings to subjugate Scotland failed ; Scotland not only maintained her independence, though it was momentarily torn from her by Edward I., but continued throughout the whole period a most valuable ally to France, and a thorn in the side of England. In England popular liberties were made secure, and the power and prosperity of the nation increased steadily in spite of the civil broils which alternated with her foreign wars. France, in spite of humiliations in the course of the English war, extended her dominions, absorbed the greater part of the old Burgundian kingdom, and finally cleared herself of the English altogether. At the conclusion of the struggle the Crown had achieved a supremacy heretofore threatened, and sometimes rent from it altogether, by the power of the great nobles. In Germany, on the other hand, the power of the separate princes increased at the expense of that of the German

**1. Survey of
the period.**

**England,
Scotland,
and France.**

Germany.

kings, who for the most part gave up the attempt to revive the old idea of the supreme empire, and only occasionally assumed the Imperial title. Their authority in Italy almost disappeared. But while the power of the German princes grew, so also did that of the free cities who owned no lord but the emperor. The commercial energy of these cities, united in leagues for the maintenance of interests common to all, made them immensely wealthy, and thereby rendered them extremely valuable as allies.

In Italy the city states which we have there seen developing followed a course not unlike that of the Greek city states of old.

Italy. Each of the great cities became the mistress of a group of minor cities. Venice stands as typical of government under a close oligarchy; Florence was an advanced democracy. In other cases the republican forms were displaced by monarchy, hereditary in one great family; such as the Visconti, who had the title of Dukes of Milan. Rome itself after a republican period finally passed under the control of the popes. The kingdoms of Sicily and Naples were periodically a battleground, where rival dynasties strove to assert their respective claims. In Spain the chief powers were the Moorish kingdom of Granada in the south and the Christian kingdoms of Portugal,

Spain. Castile, and Aragon. The Crowns of the two latter kingdoms were united at the close of our period by the marriage of Isabella, Queen of Castile, with Ferdinand, King of Aragon, who together achieved the conquest of Granada. This, however, belongs to our next period.

We have seen the papacy at the height of its power. We shall now see it cast down and brought into the grip not of the **The** German emperor, but of the French king, and then **Papacy.** rent between rival popes. The first period is known as that of the Babylonish captivity at Avignon, which took the place of Rome as the papal residence. The second period is that of the Great Schism, during which Protestantism had its birth in the teaching of John Wycliffe, the Englishman, and John Huss, the Bohemian. The schism was brought to a close, and the papacy restored to something of its former splendour, after the Council of Constance in 1415.

But in Italy, the land of city states, there had been a great intellectual revival comparable to the intellectual activity of the Greek city states. There had taken place that **The** new birth of art and letters which is called the **Renaissance**. Renaissance. From Italy the intellectual movement spread. In every field of thought men began to challenge the dictation of the time-honoured authorities which had hitherto claimed to speak with the voice of inspiration. The way was prepared for challenging the spiritual as well as the temporal authority of the papacy; and the channels through which new doctrines could be spread, and carried to all ranks, were multiplied by the invention of the printing-press.

A further impulse was given to this intellectual movement by the fall of Constantinople, the final annihilation of the Greek Empire. The hostility of Greeks and Latins had **Fall of Constantinople,** prevented the Greeks from bestowing and the **1453.** Latins from receiving much that Byzantium had preserved when the hordes of barbarians overran the west. Now the Greeks fled before the Turks, and they found the west already sufficiently enlightened to welcome all the knowledge they could bring.

During the time of the crusades, Islam had ceased to be a grave menace to Christianity. The Christians had not conquered; they had not even recovered the old Roman dominion in Asia, though they had maintained a precarious footing in the west of Syria, and won back some of Asia Minor from the Seljuks. But the crusades had stopped the westward advance of Mohammedanism; and even when the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem had become merely the shadow of a name, the divided Mohammedan powers were not in a position to resume aggression, their disruption having just been intensified by the Mongol invasion. But almost at this same moment **The Ottoman** a more dangerous Turkish race, known to us as **Turks.** the Ottomans, from one of their first chiefs, Othman or Osman, was taking the place of the Seljuks. The Turks had made entry into the Ottoman Empire sometimes from the east of the Caspian Sea through Persia, sometimes between the Caspian and the Black Sea through Armenia. The Ottomans

came through Armenia, and were welcomed by the Seljuks as a reinforcement. But in fact they organised a new power, before which the Seljuks disappeared. At last they broke into Europe, surging into the feebly held dominions of what was still the Greek Empire, which was left by the west to its fate; and finally, they stormed and captured the capital after a heroic defence. The crescent, on the verge of being ejected from Western Europe, established itself in the east, and made Europe itself the battle-ground between Christianity and aggressive Mohammedanism.

At the time of the death of Louis ix., the Royal house of France was the greatest dynastic power in Europe. France herself was strong and Louis left the Crown in France particularly strong. His brother Charles was Count not only of Anjou, but also of Provence, which was an independent state, and was now king of the two Sicilies. It was perhaps a fear that the house of Capet might seek for its own further aggrandisement in the divisions of Germany which impelled Gregory x. to urge upon the German electors the duty of choosing a German king. The electors chose Rudolf of Hapsburg, partly from fear of the aggressive designs of Ottokar of Bohemia, the strongest of the princes whose domains were included in the area of the empire, though his subjects were chiefly Slavonic, not German. Rudolf found reason for forcing war upon Ottokar, whom he succeeded in crushing, and whose territories of Austria and Carinthia he proceeded to appropriate. After a brief interval Rudolf's son Albert was elected. But after Albert, though there were Hapsburg claimants to the Imperial dignity, none reigned undisputed till more than a hundred years later. On Albert's death, Charles of Valois, brother of the French King Philip the Fair, became a candidate for the empire.

The choice, however, fell upon Henry of Luxemburg. In Italy the strife of the parties who called themselves Guelfs and Ghibellines encouraged Henry to revive the ideal of the empire. He entered Italy intending to adopt the rôle not of a partisan but of the authoritative mediator between parties. But his success would have been

exceedingly distasteful both to France itself and to Charles of Sicily. A severe struggle was impending when Henry died suddenly. With him died his Imperial scheme. A contest for the Imperial Crown followed between Frederick of Austria and Lewis of Bavaria. In this contest the Bavarian was successful. It was during his rule that the German Diet **Lewis of Bavaria, 1322.** definitely asserted the claim that the sole authority in appointing a German king lay in the electors of the empire, whose choice carried with it the title to the Imperial Crown. The attitude of Lewis and the popes was mutually hostile. Hostile to Lewis also was the house of Luxemburg, which had now acquired the kingdom of Bohemia by marriage. Consequently, when Charles of Bohemia secured his own election in place of Lewis, who was deposed, he appeared almost as the vassal of the pope. He won the election, and thus became Charles iv.

Charles did not secure his position without some trouble and many concessions, which further increased the power of the German princes as against the emperor. These **Charles IV., 1347.** concessions were embodied in the charter known as the Golden Bull. Charles was endeavouring to compensate himself and his family for anything they might have lost by the extension of their own dominions. He had betrothed his son Wenzel or Wenceslaus to a Hungarian princess, and not without a good deal of difficulty procured his election as King of the Romans in accordance with the custom of the earlier emperors. Not Wenzel, but Wenzel's brother Sigismund got possession of the kingdom of Hungary, by marrying the queen ; **Wenzel, 1378.** and it was Sigismund's intention ultimately to win for himself the Imperial position in place of his brother. Wenzel was an incompetent person, who made no attempt to act up to the responsibility of his position. He was deposed in a meeting of some of the electors, and another German king was named in his place. In fact, **1400.** the state of Germany was again becoming chaotic, almost as chaotic as the affairs of the papacy, in which the Great Schism was now at its most extravagant stage.

When Wenzel's rival, Rupert of the Palatinate, died, Sigismund got himself elected German king, though Wenzel had **Sigismund,** never recognised his own deposition. It is of **1411.** interest to note that Brandenburg was now bestowed by Sigismund on Frederick of Hohenzollern, who thus became the first Elector belonging to the house which has given its kings to Prussia and its present emperor to Germany. Sigismund ultimately was actually crowned emperor. When he died, in 1437, Albert II. of the house of Hapsburg or Austria

was elected; and from that time forward the **The** Imperial Crown was invariably bestowed on some **Hapsburg** member of that house until the dynasty of Haps- **Dynasty,** **1437.** burg was converted into the dynasty of Lorraine by the marriage of its heiress, Maria Theresa, to Francis of Lorraine in the eighteenth century. The Emperor Frederick III., who succeeded Albert II., was the last of the emperors who comes within our present period, and was also the last who was actually crowned at Rome.

The reign of Sigismund was so closely connected with the ecclesiastical questions of the day, that we must now trace the **3. The** fortunes of the papacy during the hundred and **Papacy.** fifty years preceding his election as German king. We saw that Pope Gregory X. was largely instrumental in the election of Rudolf of Hapsburg as German king. Gregory was **Gregory X.** himself one of the few popes who was more anxious for the welfare of Christendom than for the aggrandisement of the papacy, and preferred to see order in Germany even at the risk of reviving rivalry between pope and emperor. For a moment it even seemed that he would succeed in reconciling the Greek and the Latin churches, for he still dreamed of a united Christendom and the recovery of the Holy Land. But his reign was all too brief. After an interval, in an unusual access of religious sentiment, the cardinals chose, to occupy the chair of St. Peter, a hermit who was credited with exceptional holiness. Unfortunately, he also proved himself exceptionally incompetent, and was deposed by the cardinals, who replaced him by the pope known as Boniface VIII.

Boniface was a man of great determination, a consummate intriguer, and inordinately ambitious. He carried the papal pretensions so far that he roused both Philip the **Boniface VIII.**, Fair of France and Edward I. of England to defy **1294-1303.** his authority; and the kings were stoutly supported at least by their lay subjects in their attitude. It had become a question of the purse, when the pope forbade the secular authorities to tax the clergy in their own realms without his permission. The laity were fully determined that the Church should bear at least its fair share of the burdens of the state. The English king practically ignored the pope, and compelled the clergy to pay, by placing them outside the protection of the civil law so long as they were recalcitrant. The French king went further, and summoned the council called the States General, which solemnly declared that France was independent of the pope. Boniface replied by a bull or papal injunction, declaring the entire subjection of all temporal authorities to the pope. He deposed the French clergy who supported the king; and he was on the verge of deposing the king himself when he was attacked in his own palace, and so roughly handled that he died very shortly afterwards.

After a brief interval the French procured the election of a Frenchman to the papal throne. Clement V., instead of going to Rome, established himself at Avignon in **The Popes at** Provence, which was not actually French territory, **Avignon,** but belonged to the King of Naples, the Angevin **1305-1377.** monarch, who was himself a member of the Capet family. For some seventy years the popes remained at Avignon in inevitable subserviency to the French king. The mere fact was sufficient to shake the popular belief in the pope's authority, and the prestige which attached to him as the successor of St. Peter—according to tradition the first bishop of Rome. In the popular mind, in fact, the city of Rome and the spiritual primacy of Christendom were indissolubly associated. It was all the easier for Lewis of Bavaria and the German Diet to claim completely to disregard papal intervention in the German elections when the right of intervention was asserted not from Rome but from Avignon. Charles IV. was friendly to the

Avignon papacy for political reasons; he came forward to displace Lewis, who was at odds with Pope Clement. Hence **Weakness of the Papacy.** he began with an air of submission to the papal claims. But he soon found that policy required him to acknowledge the position of the seven electors, and had no qualms about ignoring the papal authority. At the same time the Franciscans were in a state of semi-revolt against the Avignon papacy. Some of the most remarkable men of the time, such as the great scholar William of Occam, belonged to the Franciscan Order, whose members were generally distinguished by the practice of a self-denial, which won them a general respect, and intensified the ordinary layman's objection to the luxury prevalent among the higher clergy. Occam himself was an Englishman; and another Englishman, John Wycliffe, was to do still more towards undermining the papal pretensions. **The Reformers: Wycliffe.** The notable point is that hitherto the various heresies, such as that of the Albigenses, which discarded those doctrines on which the papacy and the clergy most relied as means to extending or maintaining their own influence, had been for the most part confined to the unlearned. Now it was among the most learned and most cultivated of the clergy that a reforming spirit was becoming prominent, a reforming spirit which attacked the authority of the Church itself by challenging current ecclesiastical doctrines.

We must examine matters, however, a little more closely to prevent misapprehension. The great Pope Hildebrand or Gregory VII. and his predecessor Gregory the Great may be **Contrast with the Past.** taken as types of heads of the Church who were also themselves reformers. They combined a fervent zeal for moral improvement with a fervent belief in their own divine authority, and their moral earnestness made their divine authority credible. The Mendicant Orders at the time of their institution under Innocent III., and for a long time after, were zealous moral reformers; but the popes, even though they were primarily engaged in magnifying their own office, were still men of high character, who maintained the Church's moral tone. The papacy still upheld the standard of

the higher life. Men of learning and character could still feel that public morality would suffer if the authority of the Church were diminished. Such heresies as those of the Albigenses appeared anarchical. But the arrogance of Boniface VIII., and the humiliation of his successors, destroyed that moral vigour of the papacy ; and the new reformers, in search of a moral influence to take its place, were beginning in fact to appeal to scripture and human reason instead of to the authority of the Church.

If that authority was weakened by the captivity of Avignon, it sank still lower at the end of the fourteenth century. A pope

was at last elected by the party in the Church which was in revolt against French domination. **The Great Schism, 1378.**

The pope returned to Rome. The revolt was followed by the Great Schism, when the French cardinals elected a pope of their own in opposition to the Italian pope. Western Christendom adhered to one pope or the other for political reasons. The popes excommunicated each other, and all the adherents of the opposite party ; the authority of both popes sank to the lowest point, and Christendom realised that the scandal must be brought to an end. The remedy was found in summoning a

General Council of the Church at Pisa, on the principle that a General Council was the last and highest authority to which the Church could appeal. **Council of Pisa, 1409.**

The Council of Pisa deposed both the reigning popes and elected another to take their place, but neither of the deposed popes would retire ; so that now there were three popes, each of them pretending to be representative of St. Peter. Five years after the Council of Pisa, a fresh General Council was summoned at

Constance ; all the three popes were deposed or retired, and Martin V. was elected in 1417. This Council was summoned primarily by the authority of Sigismund as emperor and temporal head of Christendom. **Council of Constance, 1414.**

of Sigismund as emperor and temporal head of Christendom.

The Great Schism was brought to an end, and there was once more a single pope who was acknowledged on all hands, and whose high character began to redeem the papal authority ; and the pope also once more ruled as a temporal prince over the central province of Italy, which was always supposed to be his immediate property.

But the long period of humiliation had done its work in sowing the seeds of an implacable hostility to the spiritual as well as to the temporal authority of the popes. In England the disciples of Wycliffe, known as the Lollards, were sternly suppressed, though Lollardy survived beneath **John Huss,** 1415. the surface. But Wycliffe's doctrines had been taken up in Bohemia by the doctors, John Huss and Jerome of Prague. Huss was summoned before the Council of Constance to answer for his heresy, and was burnt at the stake, in spite of the fact that he had come under a safe conduct from Sigismund himself. His fate was shared by Jerome of Prague. The Council, though wisely determined to restore order in the Church, had no idea of admitting any reformation of doctrine.

The new doctrine, however, had taken root, and Bohemia was soon in a flame of revolt. The Hussites found a brilliant leader first in John Zisca, and after his death in **4. Central Europe.** Procop. Sigismund's efforts to crush them, even when extended into a crusade under papal sanction, were of no avail, and a devastating war was prolonged over many years. **The Hussite Wars.** The Hussites could not be stamped out as the Albigenses had been; and in the long-run they were able to obtain terms for themselves, under which they were allowed liberty on most of the points for which they had fought.

When Sigismund died he left no son; his daughter was married to Albert of Austria, of the house of Hapsburg. Now Sigismund himself had been King of Hungary when he was chosen German king, and his brother Wenzel, formerly German **Bohemia and Hungary.** king, was King of Bohemia. Wenzel died before Sigismund, leaving no heirs. The Bohemian Crown was elective, but like most elective monarchies it usually, though not invariably, passed to the natural heir when the king died. Thus Bohemia would naturally pass to Sigismund. Before his death he succeeded in procuring the recognition of his son-in-law as his successor both in Bohemia and in Hungary. The election to the German kingdom also fell upon Albert, who thus held in his own hands all the

dominions controlled by the last of the Luxemburg dynasty, together with his own Austrian dominions. Albert did not long survive, and his actual heir was a son born after his death called Ladislaus Posthumus. On the other hand, the electors chose as German king Albert's Hapsburg cousin Frederick of Carinthia, who was also guardian of the baby Ladislaus. The Crowns of the two kingdoms went to the child who remained under Frederick's care, while in effect the regencies were after a time placed in the hands of the Bohemian noble, George Podiebrad, and the great Hungarian warrior, John Hunyadi or Hunyadi Janos. When young Ladislaus died at the age of eighteen, George was elected King of Bohemia, and the Hungarian nobles chose for their king Matthias Corvinus, the son of John Hunyadi. Frederick succeeded to the Austrian dominions. It was not till the next century that Bohemia and Hungary passed definitely into the hands of the house of Hapsburg.

In Italy we saw with the close of the crusades and the disappearance of the house of Hohenstaufen, that Charles of Provence and Anjou had become king of the two Sicilies. In the island of Sicily, however, the rule of the French was the rule of aliens and oppressors. Moreover, the action of Charles in executing Conradin had roused against him a feeling of the most intense hostility. The daughter of King Manfred, who was killed at the battle of Benevento, which had secured Charles's throne, was married to King Pedro of Aragon, to whom the young Conradin had appealed to be his avenger. In 1282, there was a sudden uprising of the Sicilians against their oppressors; a fearful massacre of all the French in the island took place, which is known as the Sicilian Vespers, because the signal was given by the tolling of the vesper bell. The Sicilians appealed to Pedro to come to their aid. He did so, and a long war with Charles followed, which ended in the establishment of an Aragonese dynasty in Sicily. The Angevin dynasty, however, held its own on the mainland, and retained the kingdom of Naples or Southern Italy. For the sake of clearness this will be referred to as the kingdom of Naples, although its monarchs did not surrender the title of Kings of Sicily. At the beginning

**The two
Sicilies.**

**The Sicilian
Vespers,
1282.**

of the fourteenth century a member of the Angevin house became, through marriage, King of Hungary. This Angevin dynasty of Hungary lasted until Mary, a daughter of the last king of the house, became queen, and the Crown passed to her husband Sigismund, whom we have seen as emperor. In the fifteenth century the Crown of Naples was secured by another branch of the house of Aragon, although the French house of Anjou still made attempts to claim it.

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century the representative of the house of Anjou was King René of Provence, who called himself King of Sicily and of Jerusalem; whose daughter, known as Margaret of Anjou, was wife of Henry VI. of England, and whose realm of Provence was desired by Charles the Bold of Burgundy, but was in fact absorbed into the kingdom of Louis XI. of France. We shall presently find the successor of Louis on the French throne taking upon himself the Angevin claim to the throne of Naples.

The kingdom of Naples was the largest single dominion in Italy, but the states of the north achieved a more abiding fame. Venice during this period was at the height of her glory, and her fleets were the great defence of the western world against the maritime power of the Turks. She retained her republican government for centuries, and her position as a first-class maritime power in the Mediterranean long after Spain and Portugal, England and Holland, had become rivals in the greater ocean beyond the Strait of Gibraltar. On the sea the Genoese republic stood second. In art she was rivalled and in letters surpassed by the great democratic republic of Florence. But the time was coming when a single family, that of the Medici, were to become masters of the Florentine democracy, though without any formal appropriation of the supreme power. In the eyes of Europe Milan came to count for more politically than any other Italian state except Venice; first, under the rule of the Visconti, and then under the Sforza dynasty founded by a captain of mercenaries, Francesco Sforza, who married a daughter of one of the Visconti. Another Visconti married a French prince, the Duke of Orleans, whose grandson afterwards succeeded to the French

throne as Louis XII., and asserted his own claim to the Milanese dukedom.

The history of Northern Italy is in fact the history of several small states, each giving a brilliant example of intellectual and political development, but also sharply separated by rivalry with each other ; so that no single state could be formed, no league even could be established, powerful enough to save Italy from becoming the battle-ground of the great states which were now consolidating themselves in Western Europe.

CHAPTER XV

THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES : THE WESTERN AND EASTERN NATIONS

WE have seen how at the close of the thirteenth century Philip the Fair of France had a sharp contest with Boniface VIII., and how the Crown won a complete victory over the papacy. That vigorous and extremely unscrupulous monarch also enriched himself by the destruction of the order of the Knights Templars, and found another source of wealth in the persecution of the Jews. He set about a policy of encroachment on the power of the nobles, but did not succeed in wresting from Edward I. of England any part of that French inheritance which still remained to the English king. After him ruled three of his sons in succession, of whom the second promulgated a law of immense importance in the history of France, declaring that succession to the Crown passed through males only. As a matter of fact the succession ever since the founding of the dynasty, that is, for more than three hundred years, had passed through the male line, not because there was any law, but because there had never been any other line which could put in a claim. This pronouncement was put forward by Philip V., in order to exclude any possible claims on behalf of the daughter of his elder brother. But it was not on her behalf that the law was challenged a few years later. Philip died childless ; his younger brother Charles IV. died childless ; and according to the law the heir to the throne by male descent was Philip of Valois, who became king as Philip VI. But the three brothers who had reigned

1. France.
The last
Capets.

The Valois
Succession,
1328.

successively had a sister who was mother of the King of England, Edward III. ; and the King of England, having other reasons for going to war with France, elected to put forward as his pretext his own claim through his mother to the Crown of France, as giving a better title than that of his cousin of Valois. The victory of the Valois in the long struggle with England known as the Hundred Years' War established the principle of the male succession to the French monarchy.

The quarrel of England and France illustrates a point in the history of the empire. Charles IV. was at one time a candidate for the empire against Lewis of Bavaria ; the Bavarian party were antagonistic to France and friendly with England ; the Luxemburg party were friendly with France and hostile to England ; and Edward III. in his turn became a candidate for the empire in opposition to Charles IV., though his own people compelled him to withdraw.

Among the great fiefs of France was Flanders, which we may think of as roughly corresponding to Belgium. The great cities of Flanders had defied the count who claimed to be their feudal lord ; and some years earlier their sturdy foot-soldiers had inflicted at Courtrai a great defeat on the French chivalry, the first striking example in mediaeval warfare of a victory of infantry against cavalry. The Flemings had a great and valuable trade with England. They wanted the support of England in the contest with the count and the French king. The Flemish trade was very well worth preserving, and Edward III. was well enough inclined to support the burghers and to have their support in a French war, because the policy of the French king was directed to weakening his own power in his duchy of Guienne. It was the demand of the Flemings that he should himself claim the French Crown, and so enable them to profess that in fighting for him they were fighting for their lawful sovereign, which probably decided him to assert his title ; an exceedingly weak one, since, if inheritance passed through the female line at all, the legitimate claimant was the daughter of Louis X., not his sister. Still the claim to the Crown was made the ostensible pretext for war.

French and English Candidates for the Empire.

The Flemings.

The early campaigns were notable for the English capture of Calais, following eleven months after the famous battle of Crecy (1346), in which the huge French force was completely wrecked by an English army of less than one-third of its numbers. The battle was a decisive demonstration, that a skilful use of archery utterly destroyed the effectiveness of cavalry charging in masses. Horse and man went down before the clothyard shafts which hailed upon the flanks of the charging column, and the defeat became a slaughter. Some sixty years later precisely the same lesson in war was repeated under very similar conditions with the English when Henry v. shattered the French army at Agincourt.

Shortly after the capture of Calais there was a truce. But there was a contest in Brittany for the succession to the dukedom; so English and French found excuse for fighting each other, taking opposite sides in their quarrel. Moreover, as neither party carried out the conditions of the truce, they soon fell to fighting again in Guienne, where it must be remembered that the population were siding with their own over-lord in a feudal quarrel against his over-lord, the King of France. Here was fought the famous battle of Poitiers, in which the Black Prince made King John of France prisoner. The result of this was that the whole of Aquitaine was severed from the French Crown, and became a separate principality under the Black Prince, while the King of England resigned his claim to the French Crown, under what is generally known as the treaty of Bretigny. Again the treaty terms were not carried out; the extortions of the Black Prince in Aquitaine, forced on him by his immense expenditure on a civil war in Spain in which he chose to take part, turned the population of the province against him; and in the latter years of Edward III. the English were driven almost completely out of France, and Aquitaine was again brought into the feudal dominion of the French king.

While the war with England was at its height two insurrections took place, which seemed to give a foretaste of troubles which beset France four hundred years afterwards. One was the revolt of Paris, which, with the other great towns, was now be-

coming powerful ; the other was a revolt of the peasants called the Jacquerie ; the former demanding political privileges and the latter the right to live like human beings. The nobles here found themselves compelled to give the Crown their support. The peasants were crushed, and the growing power of the cities was curtailed. Just after the treaty of Bretigny there was another event, of which the importance was not immediately apparent. One of the French fiefs was the duchy of Burgundy ; the French portion of what had once been the Burgundian kingdom, of which very much the greater part was attached to the German Empire, not to the French Crown. The line of dukes now failed, and the duchy became Crown property. The king bestowed it on his younger son Philip. Philip acquired by marriage the county of Burgundy, otherwise called Franche Comté, which was a fief of the empire, and also Flanders, with other provinces of the old Burgundian kingdom. Hence a hundred years afterwards we shall find the Duke of Burgundy in a position to aim at setting up once more a middle kingdom between France and Germany, stretching from the North Sea to the Mediterranean.

The Jacquerie, 1358.

**The Duke-
dom of
Burgundy.**

There was a period of rather more than forty years, during which the English were too much occupied at home to make anything more than desultory attempts at renewing the war in France. But in the meanwhile France fell upon evil days. A boy, Charles VI., succeeded to the throne, and when he grew up he proved to be more than half crazy. His uncles of Orleans and Burgundy took possession of the regency ; but France was divided into two factions, bitterly hostile, of which they or their children were the respective leaders. Treacherous murders were committed on both sides. The two parties were known as Burgundians and Armagnacs. The English Henry V. seized his opportunity to invade France, won the battle of Agincourt, returned three years later to make a deliberate organised conquest piecemeal of the north of France, brought the Burgundian party to support him, and, before his premature death, was actually master of the northern half of France, and had secured for himself the succession to Charles VI.

**The Conquest
by Henry V.,
1420.**

But Henry died just before Charles, and the English triumph was short-lived. The French king's eldest surviving son claimed his father's crown. For some time the English held their own, under Henry's brother Bedford acting as regent for the young Henry VI. But the Burgundian alliance cooled. The French resistance received an extraordinary impulse from the appearance on the scene of the famous Joan of Arc, the maid of Orleans. After some astonishing successes, as a result of which Charles VII. was crowned king at Rheims, she was captured by the Burgundians who were still in alliance with the English, was tried for witchcraft before a court of French ecclesiastics, and was handed over to the English to be burnt at the stake. But her work was accomplished. The Duke of Burgundy very shortly afterwards broke off his alliance with the English, who again became to a great extent absorbed in civil broils; and after 1453, the English had no foothold left in France except Paris.

During the latter part of his reign, which closed in 1461, Charles VII. was occupied in reorganising the government of the country which had gone to pieces during the long wars. A military system was organised, which enabled the king to call out local levies instead of being dependent on the forces of the feudal nobility. The cost was met by a permanent tax which freed the Crown from the necessity of making frequent appeals for money with the risk of refusal, such as the kings of England had to submit to.

A strong government meant concentration of power in the hands of the king, and to this end Charles's successor, Louis XI., devoted himself. By intrigue and by diplomacy, by making promises and breaking them when convenient, occasionally by force of arms though not if he could manage to avoid it, Louis deprived the nobles of their power, and finally achieved the overthrow of his most dangerous rival, Charles the Bold or the Rash, of Burgundy. The outcome of this contest was that nearly the whole of the southern part of the old Burgundian kingdom actually passed to France, though not

Franche Comté. On the other hand Flanders and the Low Countries remained to the Duke of Burgundy, and passed to his heiress Mary, who married Maximilian, the son of the Emperor Frederick III.

Charles the Bold was the last duke in direct succession from Philip, son of King John of France, who had been made Duke of Burgundy shortly after the battle of Poitiers. His father, Philip the Good, had consolidated his dominion, which included the rich trading cities of the Low Countries, the Holland and Belgium of our own day. The court of the Duke of Burgundy was wealthier and more splendid than any royal court in Europe. It was the object of Charles to acquire Lorraine, so as to unite the Low Countries with the duchy and county of Burgundy, to get possession of Switzerland and Provence, and to have himself recognised as an independent king. These large designs roused opponents against him on all sides, and it was by stirring up these opponents that Louis of France successfully brought him to ruin. The blows which finally overthrew him were delivered by the Swiss at the battles of Granson, Morat, and Nancy, at the last of which he was killed. By his daughter's marriage the Low Countries and Franche Comté became attached to the house of Hapsburg.

Switzerland, at this point, becomes prominent, but Switzerland did not actually form a state. It consisted of a group of districts within the German Empire, which had formed a league for their own protection. At the end of the thirteenth century, three of these districts or cantons had first formed a league against the Duke of Austria, whose attempts to crush them were defeated at the battle of Morgarten. More cantons joined the league; the neighbouring German nobles combined to crush them, and were overthrown at the famous battle of Sempach in 1386. These great victories, ending with that at Nancy, of the mountaineers over the finest feudal forces in Europe, gave the Swiss a tremendous reputation, and made them exceedingly valuable allies from the military point of view.

**Charles the
Bold of
Burgundy.**

**2. Switzer-
land.**

1315.

Almost throughout this period we have seen England as the rival of France. King Edward I. was frequently engaged in contests with the French king over questions of their feudal rights, but the great struggle did not begin till the reign of his grandson, Edward III. Edward I. himself was mainly engaged in consolidating the English state, seeking first to bring our whole island under one dominion; and secondly, to strengthen the king's government as against the barons, and also as against the Church. He failed in his first object, for, though he conquered Wales and repeatedly overran Scotland, the Scots rose again whenever his back was turned; and finally, under the leadership of King Robert Bruce, compelled England to acknowledge their independence during the reign of Edward II., on whom they inflicted a terrific defeat at Bannockburn. Through-
 1314. out the long period of the French wars, English and Scots perpetually raided each other's territory, and during the fifteenth century Scottish troops won more than one important victory for the French in France. A strong central government never existed in Scotland, except under Robert the Bruce, and about a century afterwards under James I. This was natural, since all but two of the Scots kings, after the great King Robert, were young children when they came to the throne. The country was torn by the factions of nobles, but the one sure way of uniting the factions was by attempting to assert English supremacy.

But if Edward's scheme for forming one united kingdom failed, he succeeded in establishing in England a system of government in advance of that of any other European country. He gave permanence to the English parliament; he gave it in 1295 a shape which lasted with little modification for more than five hundred years. The right of parliament to grant or withhold supplies was established, as was also the great principle that the government, the king, and the officers of state, may not override the law. In the long French wars all Englishmen were well aware that the English victories were won by the common folk, the archers, more than by the prowess of mail-

3. England.

Scottish Independence.

The English Constitution.

clad nobles and knights; and the sense of personal independence was vigorously fostered. We need not here follow the course of dynastic struggles. On that head it will be enough to say that the fierce contest between the rival **Lancaster** houses of Lancaster and York, called the Wars **and York.** of the Roses, almost annihilated the old nobility, while it enabled France to throw off the English yoke; but it did not have the same destructive effect on the towns, or on the general population. The danger of a close aristocracy being formed was averted; and after the strife was brought to an end, and the rival houses were united in the Tudor dynasty, the leading statesmen and the most powerful families were not found amongst the ancient nobility.

Of the Spanish kingdoms during this period Aragon played a part of some importance, owing to her naval power in the Mediterranean, and to her appropriation first of one Sicily and then of both. In the fourteenth century Sicily was under a separate branch of the royal family of Aragon. In the fifteenth century Sicily itself was annexed to the Crown of Aragon, while a separate Aragonese dynasty ruled over Naples.

Castile was occupied with wars sometimes against her neighbours of the Christian kingdoms, sometimes against the Moors and Granada, and sometimes also with civil strife. It was in a struggle for the succession to the Crown of Castile, between Pedro the Cruel and Henry of Trastamare, that Edward the Black Prince interfered; for which England paid the penalty in the loss of Aquitaine. Within the peninsula the Castilian dominion was much the largest. When the united kingdoms of Castile and Aragon conquered Granada, the Spanish dominion was practically completed. But the third of the great Christian kingdoms, Portugal, was never absorbed into Castile or into the great Spanish kingdom, except at a later period, when, for three quarters of a century the royal family of Spain managed to keep the royal family of Portugal out of its inheritance. In the Middle Ages Portugal held its own, and in the fifteenth century it took the lead in maritime exploration. The steady

determination of a prince, known as Henry the Navigator, despatched expedition after expedition, which explored the eastern coast of Africa, and prepared the way for the great voyagers, who at the end of the century found their way round the Cape of Good Hope, and set up a maritime empire in the eastern seas.

On the east of Bohemia, and of the German border, lay the kingdom of Poland. Between Poland and the Baltic Sea, and along the eastern shores of the Baltic, lay the province or sovereignty of the Teutonic Knights. On the east of the Knights was the duchy of Lithuania, the last region in Europe to adopt Christianity. Beyond these were the Russian provinces, which, ever since the coming of the Tartar hordes, had remained subject to the Mongol dominion. There is no need to follow closely the story of these northern states at this stage, but we must note the position which had been reached in the fifteenth century. Poland may be said to have begun to rank as a Power under a very able monarch, Casimir, during the middle period of the fourteenth century. On his death his nephew, King Lewis of Hungary, became King of Poland. King Lewis had two daughters. The one, Mary, succeeded to the Hungarian Crown and married Sigismund, afterwards German Emperor; Poland, choosing that the Crowns should be separate, took for queen the other daughter Hedwig. Hedwig married the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Jagellon, and thus began the Jagellon dynasty. The marriage made it necessary for Jagellon and his people to adopt Christianity. The Christianising of Lithuania left the Teutonic Knights without any particular justification for their existence. In a few years' time the now powerful Polish kingdom had taken possession of much of their inheritance. Although the Jagellons held the Crown in succession for a couple of centuries, the monarchy was in form elective; and we periodically find both Hungary and Bohemia electing a King of Poland to their respective thrones, until both were secured by the Hapsburgs. Poland also extended her dominions eastwards over a considerable part of the Russian territory. It is important to bear in mind, with regard to

subsequent developments, that the Christianity of Poland was that of Rome, not of the Greek Church; whereas it was with the Greek Church that the Russians associated themselves.

The long subjection of the Russians to the Mongols gave them that half Asiatic character, of which they never divested themselves. It was a very long time before Russia entered the circle of the civilised states of Europe.

Russia.

But almost at the moment of the development of the Polish power by the union with Lithuania, Russia struck her first blow for freedom. The supremacy of the Mongol Khan continued to be recognised for half a century; but the revival of a Russian kingdom, with its capital at Moscow, may be dated from the accession to the throne of Ivan III. in 1462.

We have not spoken of the Scandinavian kingdoms, whose external history is chiefly connected with the struggle for the position of dominant power in the Baltic, for which the German free cities of Lübeck on the west, and Dantzic on the east were competitors, as well as the Teutonic Knights, the Danes, and the Swedes. Of primary importance, however, is the union of the Crowns of Denmark and Norway in 1380, supplemented in 1397 by the union of Kalmar, which brought Sweden also under the same sceptre; although in this latter union there was little reality, and Sweden was in constant revolt. It may be considered that the real domination of the Baltic lay with the German free cities, who were members of that great combination of trading towns, known as the Hansa or Hanseatic League.

The Baltic.

The wars and struggles of Western and Northern Europe, with the exception of Italy, all tended to a similar issue—the gradual evolution of large, fairly consolidated states. Thus at the end of our period, Scotland, England, and France were each of them clearly defined, separate, homogeneous kingdoms. In the Spanish peninsula, there were four considerable kingdoms besides the small one of Navarre, and of these four three were on the verge of being combined into the one kingdom of Spain. The three Scandinavian kingdoms were united under one Crown; Poland had become

National Consolidation.

an organised state, and Russia was at last beginning to follow suit. The German Empire was made up of a group of definite states, though their association under a single emperor was of a very loose kind. Hungary, also outside the empire, was a vigorous state; and there was a degree of permanence even in the political divisions into which Italy had formed.

But it was not so with the Balkan peninsula, that part of Europe which had once formed the European portion of the **The Eastern** Greek Empire. There, unity and political develop-
Empire. ment had been finally wrecked by the attack of the Latin crusaders upon Byzantium. Out of that wreck had grown a new Bulgarian kingdom, with a Servian kingdom to the west of it. When the Latin Empire collapsed, and the Greek dynasty of the Palaeologi returned to Constantinople, they never held secure sway over any large portion of the peninsula; and soon after the middle of the fourteenth century the Ottoman Turks **The Otto-** had planted themselves on European soil. The
mans in Servian kingdom had just made itself the strongest
Europe. power in the peninsula; but on the death of the King Stefan Dusan, the prospect of a united dominion again collapsed, and the Ottomans began gradually to extend their conquests. At the close of the fourteenth century, Constantinople was already isolated; the Turks were attacking Hungary, and Sigismund advancing against them was routed in the great battle of Nicopolis.

But at this moment the Turkish advance was checked by the descent upon them of a new conqueror from the east. This **Tamerlane.** was Timur or Tamerlane, himself a member of another branch of the Turkish race. As the Ottomans had wrested the supremacy from the Seljuks, so it now seemed that Timur would wrest the supremacy from them. Timur in fact overthrew Bajazet, but turned again eastwards to die without having consolidated an empire. But he had brought confusion upon the Ottoman Empire, and for a time the Ottoman advance was stayed. A few years later, however, the Turks were again advancing, held in check only by the skill and valour of the Hungarian, John Hunyadi, and the Albanian chief, Skanderbeg, a name which is the corruption of Alexander

Bey. Chiefly to John Hunyadi, and to his son, Matthias Corvinus, who was elected King of Hungary in 1457, Christendom owes its defence from the conquering arms of the Turkish sultan, Mohammed II. But, though Albanians and Hungarians held the Turk at bay, they could not rescue Constantinople, which after a heroic resistance fell before the furious assault of the Turks on May 29, 1453. The ancient Roman Empire was at an end. For two and a half centuries to come, the international politics of Western Europe were perpetually affected by the attacks of the Ottomans upon the eastern dominions of the Austrian emperor.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK V., 1081 TO 1470

GUIDING DATES

Alexius Comnenus	1081	End of Crusades	1272
Council of Clermont	1095	Edward I. of England 1272-1307	
First Crusade	1097	Boniface VIII., pope	1294-1303
Investitures settled	1122	Popes at Avignon	1305-1377
Conrad of Hohenstaufen	1138	Independence of Scotland	1314
Second Crusade	1147	Teutonic Knights	1309
Frederick Barbarossa. 1152-1190		Battle of Morgarten	1315
Frederick's war with the		Hundred Years' War begins	1337
Lombard cities	1158-1176	Charles IV., German king	1347
Henry II. of Anjou, King		Jacquerie	1358
of England	1154	Wycliffe in England	1370
Alexander III., pope	1159	Great Schism	1378-1415
Murder of Becket	1170	Henry V. in France	1415-1422
Philip Augustus, French king	1180	Sigismund, German king,	
Saladin captures Jerusalem	1187	1411-1438	
Third Crusade	1189	Council of Constance	1414-1417
Henry VI., emperor	1190	Joan of Arc.	1429
Innocent III., pope	1198	Hapsburg dynasty	1438
Latin Empire of Byzantium	1204	Printing press invented	1442
Battle of Navas de Tolosa	1212	Fall of Constantinople	1453
Frederick II.	1215-1250	Louis XI.	1461
St. Louis IX.	1226-1270	Marriage of Ferdinand	
German Interregnum	1256-1273	and Isabella	1469
Simon de Montfort	1265		

LEADING NAMES

Alexius Comnenus—Peter the Hermit—Urban II.—Godfrey de Bouillon—Henry Plantagenet—Thomas Becket—Pope Alexander III.—Frederick Barbarossa—Richard Coeur-de-Lion—Philip Augustus—Saladin—Innocent III.—Frederick II.—Simon de Montfort—Alfonso the Wise—Louis IX.—Charles of Anjou—Rudolf of Hapsburg—Edward I.—Genghis Khan—Boniface VIII.—Philip the Fair—Robert Bruce—Edward III.—Emperor Charles IV.—Wycliffe—Huss—Tamerlane—Henry V.—Wenzel—Sigismund—Othman—Joan of Arc—Sultan Mohammed—Louis XI.—Charles the Bold—Constantine—John Hunyadi—Skanderbeg—Matthias Corvinus—Henry the Navigator—Ivan III.—Jagellon.

NOTES

The Mongol or Tartar Dominion. Various waves of invasion by tribes inclusively known as Mongolian, and separately as Huns, Avars, Magyars, and Bulgarians flooded into Europe from the fifth to the tenth centuries A.D. Kindred Turkish peoples within the Mohammedan area produced the great ruler of the east, Mahmud of Ghazni, and the conquering Seljuk Turks in Western Asia, in the eleventh century. But the greatest of all the Mongolian movements was that of the Mongol or Tartar hordes in the thirteenth century. Their conquests did not cease with Genghis Khan's death. For a time one division played an important part in the Bagdad kaliphate; another division established a supremacy over Russia which lasted till the latter part of the fifteenth century. It was in the far east, however, that their dominion had some constructive characteristics, whereas in the west it was only destructive. The great Mongol Khublai Khan, in the latter half of the thirteenth century, received the far east as his share of the empire, which reached from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific. We have a contemporary account of his empire from the great Venetian traveller, Marco Polo. He was a conqueror, though Japan repelled the Mongol attack in a great sea-fight; but he was also distinguished for his encouragement of the arts of peace, of literature and learning, and of organised government. The Mongol rulers of China are known as the Guan dynasty. In 1365, seventy years after Khublai's death, the dynasty was overthrown and replaced by the Chinese Ming dynasty.

Burgundy. At different times 'Burgundy' meant different things. Looking at the map of Western Europe in the ninth century, the 'middle kingdom' of Lothar is in three portions, Lotharingia or Lorraine, Burgundy, and Italy. Burgundy is that portion with the river Rhone on its west. The northern part of this is divided into the duchy of Burgundy which went to France, and the county of Burgundy or Franche Comté which went to the German Empire. The southern part comprised Savoy, Dauphiné, and Provence. Dauphiné was acquired by France at the end of the thirteenth century; Provence, an independent principality, was acquired by Louis XI. The dukedom of Savoy plays a separate part, and is later on translated into the kingdom of Sardinia. Burgundy begins to be a power in the fourteenth century, when the French dukedom lapsed to the Crown, and was given by the French King John to his younger son Philip in 1462. Philip's marriage brought to him also

the French fief of Flanders, and the Imperial fief of Franche Comté. Later, marriages added to the dominions of the Duke of Burgundy practically the whole of what we now call Belgium and Holland, forming the Low Countries or Netherlands. It was the ambition of Charles the Bold to complete the territorial connection between Burgundy and the Netherlands, and to annex the southern part of old Burgundy so as to create a consolidated territory from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, between France and the empire.

India. Throughout this period, a series of Mohammedan dynasties ruled in Northern India, at one time extending their sway over almost the whole peninsula. The Mohammedans, however, are always a conquering military caste, ruling by the sword over a very much larger Hindu population, in whose eyes they are aliens and accursed, and who in their eyes are infidels and idolaters. At the close of the period, a great Hindu kingdom has arisen in the south.

Chivalry. This period is often entitled the Age of Chivalry ; it was the age when the knight's professed ideal was that of utter loyalty to God and to his ladye-love, of defending the weak, and of righting the wrong. The ideal, however, does not often seem to have been pursued ; even among those who were regarded as mirrors of chivalry, like our own 'Black Prince,' there was usually little enough consideration for the weak if they happened to be of humble birth. The liveliest picture of the fourteenth century is to be found in the chronicles of Froissart, where we see Chivalry at its brightest ; it is at its blackest in the contemporary records of the reign of our King Stephen in the twelfth century. Probably, however, Chivalry was at its real best in the days when the power of the papacy was at its greatest, during the thirteenth century ; an age when the 'enthusiasm of humanity' was preached by the newly instituted orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans ; the age whose finest qualities were concentrated in the person of the French king, St. Louis.

BOOK VI
THE AGE OF HAPSBURG ASCENDENCY

CHAPTER XVI

TRANSITION

DURING the Middle Ages, that is to say, from the fall of the western Roman Empire to the latter part of the fifteenth century, the great states of Europe were only **The Great States emerge.** shaping themselves. We have seen a long struggle between England and France, and a struggle between the empire and the papacy, and the shifting of the power from one to another of the great houses within the German Empire. We have now reached a point at which four first-class powers emerge: Spain, France, Austria, and England, the German Empire being associated sometimes with Spain and sometimes with Austria. The key to half the complications which embroiled Europe for centuries to come is to be found in the position of the house of Hapsburg, and the enormous possessions in the hands of one branch or other of that family. It will be well, therefore, to work this out to begin with.

The Hapsburg Emperor Frederick III. is comparatively unimportant; not so his son Maximilian, who was named King of the Romans, or in other words, heir to the **1. The Hapsburgs.** empire, a good many years before his father's death. Maximilian himself was heir to the Hapsburg inheritance, which included claims on the Crowns of Bohemia and Hungary. He married Mary, the heiress of Burgundy; **Hapsburg Marriages.** Mary bore him a son known as the Archduke Philip. Philip then was heir to the Hapsburg inheritance and the Burgundian inheritance, that is to say, the Low Countries and Franche Comté. Philip married Joanna, daughter and

heiress of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon. They had two sons, Charles and Ferdinand. Charles, therefore, was heir to the Hapsburg inheritance, the Burgundian inheritance, and the whole Spanish inheritance including the New World, which had been discovered by Christopher Columbus, and had been bestowed upon Spain by a bull of Pope Alexander vi. The Spanish inheritance also included possession or claims to possession of the Crowns of the two Sicilies as well as sundry Italian duchies. With this vast inheritance Charles also obtained the succession to the empire; but, on the other hand, while he retained his Burgundian possessions, he transferred the Austrian claims to his brother Ferdinand. When Charles himself disappeared from the scene, the succession to the empire as well as to the Austrian dominion went to Ferdinand and the Austrian Hapsburgs; while everything derived from Mary of Burgundy or Joanna of Castile remained to his son Philip and the Spanish branch of the Hapsburgs.

It would naturally have appeared that with such vast domains under his control, Charles v. might have completely dominated Europe. That he did not do so was due to his inability to control the German Empire; because that empire was split into two camps by the Reformation, and he could never be sure that one half of the German princes would not make common cause with his opponents. The Reformation, if we date its commencement from the challenge thrown down by Luther to the papacy, began precisely at the moment when the young Charles was entering upon his inheritance. When, later, the Spanish Crown was separated from the empire, Spain seemed to its own king and to the world to wield a power still mightier than that which Charles v. had been able to exercise, and she could always feel assured that the Austrian Hapsburgs would not actively oppose her, though they might be either unable or unwilling to lend her direct support. In the following century, the seventeenth, the Spanish power waned, but that of the Austrian Hapsburgs increased, so that a Hapsburg ascendancy was maintained on the continent until France was able to win the ascendancy for her own royal family.

**The Spanish
and Austrian
Branches.**

Between 1480 and 1490 the coming greatness of the Hapsburgs had not revealed itself. Maximilian's son was a baby, and the Low Countries declined to admit that Maximilian had any authority over them. Bohemia had elected a Polish king; and Matthias Corvinus, the son of John Hunyadi, was not only King of Hungary, but was in effective possession of most of Frederick III.'s Austrian territories. It was still extremely doubtful whether the Hapsburgs would succeed in recovering their own dominion; there was no present prospect of their securing either Hungary or Bohemia, especially when, on the death of Matthias, Hungary elected to its own monarchy the Polish King of Bohemia; there was little enough security that the Low Countries would be brought under their control; and, finally, the matrimonial alliance had not yet been formed with the houses of Castile and Aragon.

2. Europe.

Austria in 1480.

England, the fourth of the great powers named, was at this stage in a very humble position. The struggle between Lancaster and York had exhausted her; and though this was brought to an end by the accession of Henry VII. in 1485, when Richard III. was slain at Bosworth field, and by the king's marriage to the heiress of York, the new king's seat on his throne was extremely insecure. He was ruling, however, with immense astuteness, patience and foresight, gradually filling the royal treasury, and concentrating power in his own hands, while making a great show of acting in partnership with the parliaments which he made a point of summoning frequently.

England.

The two states which had made a really marked advance were France and Spain, though even now Spain could hardly be spoken of as one state. Louis XI. had brought under the royal control practically the whole of what we now call France, with the exception of Brittany, which retained a certain degree of independence. Brittany, too, was almost immediately brought in by the marriage of the young French king, Charles VIII., to the still younger Duchess Anne. No sooner was this accomplished than Charles invaded Italy to assert in his own name the Angevin claim to the throne of

France.

Naples, which was now held, as we have seen, by a junior branch of the house of Aragon.

In Spain, Isabella, Queen of Castile, and Ferdinand, King of Aragon, were husband and wife. They intended to create a united Spain, and were jealous enough of France.

Spain.

To check France they had fostered trouble in Brittany, and were about to give one daughter in marriage to the son of Maximilian, and another to the son of Henry of England. But their first and most important business was the destruction of the Moorish kingdom in Granada, the existence of which was incompatible with the unification of Spain. While, as with every other king, their domestic policy was directed to strengthening the power of the Crown as against that of the nobles, both in Castile and in Aragon, they materially assisted their policy by a war which brought prestige to the monarchs and diverted the attention of the nobles to the pursuit of military glory. The war was at last brought to a close at the end of 1491 by the capture of the city of Granada itself. Except Portugal and Navarre, the whole peninsula was in the grip of the two wedded sovereigns. Ferdinand could turn his eyes to Italy, and to counteracting the extension of the French power.

In 1494 Charles entered Italy, made an easy conquest of Naples, and then withdrew; but his back was no sooner turned than the French were again expelled. Charles

Italy.

died, and was succeeded by his cousin Louis XII., who renewed the claim to Naples, and added his own personal claim, as the grandson of a Visconti, to the dukedom of Milan. Ferdinand of Aragon agreed to a partition of the Neapolitan kingdom between himself and Louis, but pretexts were soon found for breaking through the arrangement; the French were again expelled by Gonsalvo di Cordova, known as the 'Great Captain,' and the kingdom was annexed to Aragon.

Meanwhile, the momentous marriage had taken place between the Archduke Philip and Joanna of Castile, who, through Ferdinand and the death of an elder sister and brother, became Maximilian. heiress to both the Spanish kingdoms. Joanna herself became insane; Isabella of Castile died, and soon after

her the Archduke Philip. Setting aside Joanna the child Charles was now Lord of Burgundy and Castile, his grandfather Ferdinand having no actual rights in Castile; and his other grandfather Maximilian, who had now succeeded Frederick as emperor, having no rights in Burgundy. Each of the grandfathers tried to get the child's possessions into his own hands, and each was also extremely anxious to prevent the power of France from increasing. Each tried to make a cat's-paw of the young King of England, Henry VIII., till Thomas Wolsey appeared as Henry's adviser, and soon proved himself a match even for such a past master of diplomatic cunning as Ferdinand. Thus these years provide a complication of intrigues and wars, the unravelling of which would occupy too much space.

Two battles, however, require a passing note. One is that of Marignano, by which the young French king, Francis I., obtained a temporary supremacy in the north of **Marignano, Italy**, after defeating an army the strength of **1515.** which lay in the Swiss troops hitherto reputed invincible. The second is the battle of Flodden, which stopped **Flodden, 1513.** the development of the power of Scotland under James IV., whose death in the battle left the country once more to be torn in pieces by the rivalries of the nobility.

By 1519 both Ferdinand and Maximilian were dead; Charles entered upon his complete inheritance, and was elected, as Maximilian's successor, as emperor; an election in **The three Kings, 1519.** which he defeated the young King of France, the victor of Marignano, and in which Henry VIII. of England was very near being a candidate. The destinies of Europe appeared to be in the hands of these three princes, not one of whom was thirty years old, and of whom Charles was the youngest. Very shortly after the Imperial election, Charles ceded his Austrian dominions to his brother Ferdinand; who also, by an arrangement with Hungary and Bohemia, presently succeeded to the Crowns of these two kingdoms.

At about the same time Sweden became definitely separated from Denmark and Norway, and the dynasty of Gustavus Vasa was established, Denmark and Norway remaining under the dynasty of Oldenburg.

Meanwhile, however, the way was being prepared for a revolution, which was to split Europe into two camps on an entirely new line, under the banners of the Papacy and of the Reformation; commonly and conveniently, if by no means accurately, labelled as Catholic and Protestant. The inaccuracy must be emphasised, because the term Protestant properly applied only to one section of the Reformers; while a very large body of the anti-papal group claimed that they had as good a title as the Romanists to the title of Catholic. In fact, however, no one has ever been able to suggest designations which represent with anything like accuracy the nature of the division which took place; and the popular names remain on the whole the least misleading and the most intelligible as political labels. But besides the approach of the Reformation, another revolution was in progress. The horizon of Europe was suddenly extended; the ocean was converted into a high-road to a newly-discovered world in the west and a rediscovered world in the east, and a new battle-field was entered upon.

For half a century after the Council of Constance, the popes had done much to restore their own moral prestige; but politically the papacy had assumed more and more the character of an Italian principality. The revival of General Councils had given prominence to the conception of a spiritual authority on earth higher than that of the pope. Then in 1471 there began with Sixtus IV. a series of popes whose personal vices and crimes were a scandal to all Christendom. The culminating point was reached in the person of the Borgia, Alexander VI., who ruled from 1492 to 1503. The family of the Borgias, whose aggrandisement this pope made his main object, have an unenviable notoriety in the annals of crime. Iniquity in high places led to a general degradation of religion, and at the same time aroused a zeal for moral reform, which however did not carry at first with it any inclination to challenge the doctrines of the Church or the existing ecclesiastical order. It followed rather two parallel courses: one directed to the spread of knowledge, culture, and rational criticism, as providing a rational basis for the higher life; the other seeking directly to raise the moral standard of practice.

The prophet of Puritanism as we may call this latter effort was the Florentine monk Savonarola ; the greatest of the ' Humanists ' was Erasmus of Rotterdam. Neither Savonarola nor Erasmus intended to attack the Church. Neither of them advocated those views of Wycliffe and Huss which had been condemned as heretical, but both taught multitudes of men to perceive that the existing system was rotten. It remained for another monk, Martin Luther, a professor at the University of Wittenberg, the capital of the Elector of Saxony, to take up the position which forced him to challenge the authority of the pope, root and branch.

At the moment when Martin Luther came forward, the papacy had passed through its worst days, but it had not attempted to resume a spiritual character. The successor of Alexander VI. was Julius II., a militant pope, whose great desire was to strengthen the papacy as a temporal principality. He was a vigorous politician and soldier, but a pope who rode in armour on the battle-field was not the man to redeem the Church from the charge of seeking the things of this world more than the glory of God. After Julius came Leo X., one of the great Florentine house of the Medici ; brilliant and cultured, who, as a secular prince, was deserving of applause ; but for religion he cared nothing. Leo was in want of money, and to raise it he resorted to a familiar device, the sale of Indulgences. The pope claimed the power of absolving men from their sins, always on condition of their repentance ; the power of remitting the penalties which their souls should endure in purgatory. Absolution however was normally accompanied by the imposition of penances, penalties to be voluntarily endured by the repentant sinner. The theory of the Indulgences was, that instead of imposing penances the pope would be satisfied by the payment of a small sum into the coffers of the Church. In theory it was not a pardon that was sold, but only freedom from penance ; the pardon was valid only if the sinner repented. But this was not the popular view, which amounted to a simple conviction that a pardon was bought and paid for. Pope Leo proposed to sell the Indulgences on a huge scale at a very small price. Martin Luther had come to the

Savonarola,
Erasmus,
Luther.

Julius II.,
Leo X.

Indulgences.

conclusion that neither the pope nor any other mortal man has power to pardon sin. When the papal commissioners were coming with their Indulgences to Saxony, he affixed to the doors of the Cathedral a series of theses against them; and he persuaded Frederick the Elector of Saxony to forbid the commissioners to enter Saxon territory. So in 1517 the battle began.

Hitherto the limits of the known world—the world, that is, of which the west had any knowledge—had not gone eastward beyond the boundaries of the old Persian Empire, nor westward beyond those of the Roman Empire. Southwards they had been fixed by the North African deserts. In fact since the Roman time, the centre and north and east of Europe had been brought within the range of civilisation; otherwise there had been practically no change. Even now Russia was for the most part outside the known range. The Norwegians had colonised Iceland; they had even carried their voyages to Greenland, and adventurous explorers had certainly touched Labrador and Newfoundland. But these ventures had passed into the regions of forgotten myths. Neither the Norsemen nor any one else had felt tempted to follow in the tracks of those early explorers. There were legends of a wonderful Isle of Atlantis far away in western waters, and there were Portuguese sailors in the early fifteenth century who affirmed that having been carried by storms far over the ocean, they had seen a vast island on the western horizon. In very early days Phoenician sailors had doubled the Cape of Good Hope; but their story, though carefully recorded, had been discredited because the true facts which they reported had appeared to be mere travellers' tales. For two thousand years no one had thought of circumnavigating Africa. From India and from China, known to the western world as Cathay, merchandise had come by way of Persia and Bagdad; and the crusaders brought home amazing tales of the wealth and the mystery of the far east, the way to which was barred by the Mohammedan powers. Some adventurous spirits had even made their way to the remotest east in the days when the Mongol dominion was at its mightiest, and Khubla Khan reigned in Xanadu. Concerning these far lands men cheerfully

4. The Discoveries.

The Known World.

Travellers' Tales.

believed the wildest legends, but placed little trust in the veracious reports of travellers like Marco Polo.

The way to India was blocked by land, but in the fifteenth century men were beginning to think that it might be possible to get there by sea. Portuguese sailors gradually **Columbus,** creeping along the east coast of Africa began to **1492.** dream of a sea passage round the continent. The Genoese, Christopher Columbus, conceived the idea of sailing westwards round the world until the coast of India should be reached. He tried, and failed to obtain help for such an expedition from Portugal; then even while his brother was making a similar attempt with Henry VII. in England, he got the needed aid from Isabella of Castile, at the moment when Spain was freed from more pressing claims at home by her conquest of Granada. At the end of 1492 an expedition under Columbus sailed out to the unknown west, and reached the islands called the West Indies, under the impression, which still prevailed when he died, that it was India he had reached. It was a later voyager, Amerigo Vespucci, who gave his name to the vast continent in the west. On the strength of the doctrine that the unknown heathen world was the property of the pope, Alexander VI. issued a bull under which he bestowed on Spain all lands that might be discovered west of a line drawn from north to south, and east of that line on Portugal. Thus it was that Brazil, being east of the line, fell to Portugal, and the rest of America to Spain.

Even before the great voyage of Columbus, the Portuguese, Bartholomew Diaz, reached the Cape of Good Hope which was doubled in 1497 by Vasco da Gama, who sailed up **Vasco da** the east coast of Africa, and striking across the **Gama, 1497.** Indian Ocean reached Calicut at the south of India in 1498. It was in 1519, the year when Charles V. became emperor, that the Portuguese Magelhaens sailed on the great voyage on which he passed through the Straits of Magellan at the **Magelhaens.** south of America; and in 1522 his ships got home, the first which had circumnavigated the world, though their captain had died on the voyage.




The Portuguese secured to themselves, by grace of the native rulers, stations on the west coast of India, and on the mouth of

the Persian Gulf; and under Albuquerque they established a Portuguese maritime empire in all the eastern seas. The Spaniards established themselves in the West Indies, and at the end of 1518 Cortes had started on that expedition which was to bring the empire of Mexico under Spanish dominion.



EUROPE in 1610

To illustrate Chapters XVI-XXII

- Dominions of Spanish Hapsburgs..... 
 - Dominions of Austrian Hapsburgs..... 
 - French and Imperial Boundaries..... 
- MI.= MILAN; P.= PARMA; M.= MODENA.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION

THE long reign of Charles v. witnessed the development of the first stage of the Reformation, which parted Europe into two camps, and the prolonged rivalry between the emperor and the King of France. We shall see that period of rivalry finally leaving France without possessions in Italy, but with her frontier strengthened on the German side by the acquisition of Metz; and in possession, at last, of Calais, the one foothold on the continent which England had retained for a very little more than two hundred years. It leaves Spain in possession of nearly all Italy as well as of the Low Countries and of the county of Burgundy, while it leaves the Imperial succession with the Austrian Hapsburgs.

In England and Scotland at this stage the Reformation has not been completely victorious; in both countries the existing government is devoted to the papacy—in England under the reactionary Queen Mary, and in Scotland under the reactionary Queen Regent, Mary of Guise; but in both countries the reaction is on the verge of being crushed. In France the government is orthodox and oppressive towards its Protestant subjects, while its rivalry with Spain, an absolutely Romanist power, makes it ready to countenance and to ally itself with Protestantism outside its own borders. The Scandinavian countries have become Protestant; Switzerland, independent since the beginning of the century, is a centre of Protestantism. Protestantism prevails in the northern states of Germany and of the Low Countries; Romanism in the

southern states; but in Germany the Protestant and the Catholic states have come to terms.

At the moment when Charles v. was elected emperor, French interests were in conflict with his on every side. Milan was held by Francis, but Charles had a claim on it as **Charles V.** a fief of the empire. Naples was held by Charles, **and Francis I.** but Francis had not resigned the Angevin claim there. France had absorbed the duchy of Burgundy, which Charles still regarded as part of his own lawful inheritance. A part of the Low Countries consisted of what were still technically fiefs of the French Crown. Finally, the competition for the empire had created a strong personal antagonism between the two monarchs.

Within his own personal dominions the sovereignty of Charles in Castile was still limited, while in the Low Countries princes and cities claimed privileges which also limited his powers. In Germany the power of the emperor was still more restricted, and the Constitution demands further attention.

The empire was, in fact, a collection of states, large and small, with the emperor as president. Of these states, seven held the leading position as 'Electorates,' with **Constitution** whose princes rested the choice of the emperor. **of the Empire.** Three were ecclesiastical, the archbishoprics of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier, or Trèves. Four were lay principalities, Saxony, Brandenburg, the Palatinate, and Bohemia; but in other respects, Bohemia stood outside, having no part in the diet or council of the empire. Saxony at this time was divided between two branches of the same family; the head of one being the Elector, while the head of the other held the title of Duke. The diet of the empire consisted of three colleges: the first consisting of the Electors, the second of the rest of the princes, and the third of the deputies of the free cities. There was no other representation of the commons, of vassals of the princes, or of the knights or lesser nobles who owned no feudal superiors except the emperor himself. Outside of the Electors, the three most important princes were those of Austria, Bavaria, and Hesse. There was a supreme Court of Justice called the Imperial Chamber, whose members were chosen by the diet.

Charles and Francis were both anxious for the support of the papacy and of England. Francis met King Henry at the famous field of the Cloth of Gold, but it was **The War in Italy.** Charles who got the support of England, and Charles also offered the pope better terms than his rival. When the war between them began, it appeared that Charles would sweep the board in Italy. He conquered Milan, which was handed over to Francesco Sforza. In 1523 another Medici, Clement VII., was raised to the papal throne through the influence of Charles. A brief tide of victory induced Francis to invade Italy, where at Pavia he met with a crushing defeat, and was himself taken prisoner. To Charles's allies this triumph seemed to make Charles himself too powerful; the pope and Sforza both turned against him. It was not long before England withdrew her support, presently going over to the French alliance. Charles, however, extorted from his prisoner the concession of all the points in dispute. Francis was hardly set free when he renewed the war, claiming that the promises made were not binding, as they had been given under compulsion. In Italy a league was formed against the emperor between Venice, Milan, and the pope. The emperor's forces captured Milan, marched on Rome, and being in arrear with their pay, sacked the Eternal City as Alaric himself had not sacked it, and held the pope a prisoner. Altogether affairs went badly for France, and when peace was made, she had once more to surrender nearly all her claims. In Italy Charles held the pope in the hollow of his hand, and Venice was the only really independent state left.

We must now turn to the course of the Reformation during these twelve years. Martin Luther's attack on the Indulgences **Luther's Challenge.** did not bring him directly under the ban of the pope, but it did bring upon him an immediate onslaught of the extreme clerical party among the ecclesiastics. Luther, however, made his appeal to the lay princes, who had a strong objection to Indulgences as carrying away large sums of money out of their own dominions to fill the papal coffers. Honest religious convictions had a very large share in the Reformation; but the desire of lay princes to share or to

appropriate the immense wealth of the Church, and to stop the immense contributions to the treasury of the papacy, was also a very important factor. Luther, plunged into a fiery controversy with clerical antagonists, found himself compelled to affirm his own adherence to doctrines of Huss and Wycliffe, which had been condemned as heretical. His opponents appealed to Leo x., and Leo issued a bull excommunicating Luther. Luther publicly burnt the bull of excommunication.

This was in December 1520; seven weeks later the diet of the empire met at Worms. Luther was summoned to Worms to answer for himself; he came under the protection of his own prince, the Elector Frederick of Saxony. The populace was on his side, and some of the princes. The majority of the latter, with the emperor, who wanted the pope's alliance, were against him. Luther stood boldly by what he had said, and refused to retract anything. Lest he should be captured by his enemies, and treated after the manner of Huss, on his departure his own friends kidnapped him, and hid him in the Wartburg, where he spent his time in translating the Bible into German. Charles procured from the diet, and issued, the Edict of Worms, which placed Luther under the ban as a heretic. But the emperor was immediately occupied with his French war; the princes in general did not care to enforce the edict. The extravagances of some of Luther's followers enabled him to appear again publicly as a moderating influence; it seemed that the princes would be won over to the cause of the Reformation.

**The Diet
of Worms,
1521.**

Two risings brought a change. The knights, who had no political power in the empire, rose to assert themselves, partly against the Church, and partly against the princes. They were completely defeated, but the identification of their cause with the Reformation turned the princes against it. Immediately afterwards there was a great rising of peasants, whose demands at the present day scarcely seem unreasonable. To the princes they appeared unendurable. The insurrection developed into a widespread war, and the peasants were suppressed, but not till they themselves had been guilty of wild deeds of violence.

**The Knights'
War.**

**The Peasants'
War.**

The peasant leaders had also raised the cry of religion; although Luther denounced them in unmeasured terms, and gave his whole support to the enforcement of law, the whole movement discredited the Reformation as being anarchical in its tendencies. On the other hand, the emperor and the pope were now in a state of keen antagonism. A diet, held at Speier or Spires, practically revoked the Edict of Worms, and left the settlement of religion in each state to its own prince.

Charles, however, had no sooner obtained the mastery over the pope, and come to terms with him, than he made clear his intention of returning to his earlier attitude. The **The Protest of Speier.** protest issued by the Lutheran leaders gave to their party the title of Protestants. The Protestants then drew up their own creed in the confession of Augsburg, and formed the league of Schmalkald in their own defence in 1530. But hostilities were for the time deferred by the advance from the east of the Turks, who were actually threatening Vienna. To the princes the Reformation had already meant the suppression of monasteries, and secularisation of Church lands—that is, their appropriation to the state, chiefly, though not exclusively, for educational purposes.

Meanwhile Switzerland had acted in something after the same fashion as Germany. The doctrines of the Swiss reformers **Switzerland.** were by no means identical with those of Luther, who denounced the Swiss leader Zwingli with great vigour. The Swiss had arrived among themselves at a compromise, under which each canton was left to settle its own affairs. In Denmark and in Sweden the governments successfully imposed Protestantism on their respective countries, not so much from any strength of religious conviction on the part of the rulers, or of religious fervour on the part of the people, as because the nobles in the one case and the impoverished state treasury in the other thus found a warrant for dispossessing the Church of its property.

The advance of the Turks against Vienna was the natural outcome of the expansion of their power in the early years of the century. Their sultan Selim had resumed the **2. The Turks.** aggressive policy, which for a time had been in abeyance. He re-established his dominion over Persia, over

Syria and Palestine, and over Egypt, where the rule of the Mamelukes was overthrown; and he compelled the last descendant of the Abbasid kaliphs to yield the kaliphate to him, thus claiming for himself the spiritual as well as the secular supremacy over the Mohammedan world, though this supremacy was not recognised by the Shiites or by sundry other sects. His fleets gave him possession of the African ports in the Mediterranean, and Christendom was still too much occupied with its own quarrels to do more than talk about arming against the Turk. Selim's successor, Suleiman the Magnificent, captured Belgrade on the Danube, where John Hunyadi had stayed the Turkish advance half a century before; and when, after a long siege and a heroic defence, he mastered Rhodes, hitherto successfully held as a Christian outpost of the Knights of St. John, Western Europe did nothing to save it. Half Hungary was inclined to accept the Turkish sovereignty; and Lewis, the last Polish King of Hungary and Bohemia, fell in a desperate struggle in which the Turks were victorious at Mohacs. The Crown of Hungary and Bohemia passed to Ferdinand of Austria, the brother of Charles v. Suleiman warned him that Vienna was doomed. In 1528 Suleiman appeared before its walls with a vast army; yet the vigour of the defence, small though the garrison was, compelled him to raise the siege. The disunion of the empire continued to prevent the organisation of the counter-attack, which circumstances demanded, but the Turks were unable to make themselves masters of additional territory, although they were actually dominant over the greater part of Hungary.

A check was given to the Turks. Charles v. defeated their corsair admiral, Chaireddin Barbarossa, and took possession of Tunis; but the French king sought this opportunity for forming alliances with every possible enemy of the emperor, including the Grand Turk himself, the German Protestant princes, and King Henry of England, who was carrying out his own ideas of a reformation in this country. But the German princes and Henry regarded the friendly offers of Francis with suspicion. The intrigues,

Selim.

Suleiman.

Charles v.
and the
Turks.

hostilities, and reconciliations, which followed for a time, need not be recorded; but in 1541 Charles felt himself free to lead a mighty fleet against Algiers. The fleet was shattered by storms, and so one more blow against the advancing Turk was spoilt.

The disaster again moved Francis to make war upon his rival. There was another French war, in which Charles got the support of England. Charles and Henry each declared that the other had played him false; and finally Charles made on his own account a peace with France, which, in actual fact, made no difference to the possessions of either power. Almost immediately afterwards both Francis of France and Henry VIII. of England died.

Between the Turks and the French king, Charles had hitherto been quite unable to risk a civil war in Germany. He had been obliged to compromise with the Protestants at the Pacification of Nüremberg, after the formation of the League of Schmalkald. The two religious parties continued in a state of latent hostility, which did not become positively active. What Charles himself wanted was to arrive at some compromise which would give the Protestants just enough satisfaction to make them cease to be dangerous, at least until he could feel secure against external attacks. This object he attempted to achieve at the Diet of Ratisbon, in 1541.

As to the questions which vexed theologians he was probably completely indifferent, but he wished Germany to be united and authority to be respected.

The conference then was held at Ratisbon, at which both parties were represented by the men who were most conciliatory, and were disposed to go furthest in the direction of compromise. The conference was a failure, nevertheless; in plain terms the gulf could not be bridged; the reconciliation of creeds was impossible. Charles seems to have made up his mind at this stage, first that the Reformation must be crushed, and secondly that he must wait till he could crush it once and for all by a sudden and unexpected blow. For the moment he confirmed the treaty of Nüremberg, and the Protestants thought that their future was secured.

The emperor's opportunity came when he had made his peace with France, and when Luther died ; for Luther had at all times been most determined in his advocacy of peace.

Charles's object was to break up the League of Schmalkald which appeared too dangerous politically even in the eyes of some of the Protestant princes. Its chiefs were Philip of Hesse and the Elector of Saxony ; but the Duke Maurice of Saxony, and the Elector of Brandenburg, both Protestants, sided with the emperor. Suddenly Charles put the Protestant leaders to the ban of the empire. Duke Maurice attacked the Elector of Saxony. The elector and Philip of Hesse were both taken prisoner, and the electorate was transferred to Maurice. Charles was completely triumphant.

But as before the triumph of Charles alarmed his own allies, and Pope Paul II. became his enemy. Believing himself irresistible, Charles now on his own responsibility formulated what was called the Interim of Augsburg, a religious system which was to be observed until a religious settlement could be arrived at by a general council of the Church. It was intended to conciliate both parties, whereas both were disgusted by it. At the same time he was able to force upon the diet a modification of the Imperial Constitution, which gave him the entire control of the Imperial Chamber of Justice. A policy of Imperial absolutism in civil and religious matters alike was revealed, with the instant effect of arousing a new

opposition. For the moment the emperor could enforce his own will. But Maurice of Saxony, to whom he had owed his success against the League of Schmalkald, had other views. Charles sought to push his victory by procuring the election of his own son Philip as his successor on the Imperial throne ; but to this his own brother Ferdinand, who claimed the succession for himself, was stubbornly opposed. Maurice entered into a secret agreement not only with the Protestant princes, but also with the French King Henry II. He was already in command of a large army, as the emperor's leading supporter ; suddenly, he turned it against the emperor himself. Charles was taken completely by surprise, and had to flee for his life, giving his brother Ferdinand authority to treat on his behalf. In accordance with the terms

1546.

The
Schmalkaldic
War.

Maurice
of Saxony.

of the agreement with Maurice, Henry of France seized Metz, from which it was found impossible to eject him; his success was of the utmost importance for future conflicts between France and Germany.

Charles was obliged to accept the Pacification of Passau, which secured the Protestant states in their Protestantism, and again placed the control of the Imperial Chamber of Justice with the diet. The Peace of Passau was confirmed by the Peace of Augsburg. A clause however was added, under protest from the Lutherans, called the Ecclesiastical Reservation, which provided that if any prelate went over to the Reformed Church he should at the same time resign, so that the ecclesiastical territories would remain unaffected. It is to be further remarked that no rights were secured to adherents of the reformed religion except the Protestants proper, that is to say the Lutherans. The general principle of the Pacification however was that each prince could enforce his own religion within his own territories.

The struggle so far has appeared to be one for the domination or the equality of Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism, but other important elements had already been introduced in the Reformation. The Swiss reformers were in disagreement with the Lutherans on many important points of doctrine, and even among the Swiss there were two divisions. The dominant party was that at whose head was John Calvin, himself a Frenchman, who had become a sort of dictator in the Canton of Geneva. Calvinism, not Lutheranism, had taken root in France as well as in Switzerland, in Scotland, in some parts of Germany, and in the Low Countries. England had followed a line of its own, which was neither Lutheran nor Calvinist but borrowed some elements from both schools. This disunion among the reformers afterwards stood seriously in the way of their presenting a solid front to Roman Catholic aggression.

On the other hand there was within the Roman Church an active movement for reformation, a revived religious fervour which found expression partly in a school which was honestly anxious for reconciliation with the reformers who were in open

revolt. Beside these were the no less sincere enthusiasts, Ignatius Loyola and his comrades, who founded the Society of Jesus, popularly known as the Jesuits, a militant missionary organisation which was to play a tremendously active part as soon as it became finally certain that reconciliation was impossible.

The Jesuits.

But almost from the beginning there had been demands for a General Council of the Church to bring the religious antagonisms to a settlement. Every one of the interests concerned, however, desired a council to be held only under conditions which would secure the victory of its own particular views.

The Protestants insisted that they should stand on equal terms with the adherents of the papacy, while the popes required the unqualified recognition of their own supremacy. It was obvious that whatever country the council should be held in, the decisions of the council would be materially influenced thereby. The emperor wanted it in German territory, the popes in papal territory, while France and England objected to both. At last the council was actually summoned at Trent, and over a period of some twenty years met at intervals sometimes at Trent and sometimes at

A General Council.

Council of Trent.

Bologna. But from the outset it became evident that Protestantism would have no voice in its decisions, whether or no concessions might be made in some respects to Protestant opinion. We may anticipate by remarking that when the Council of Trent did come to an end in 1563, it had succeeded in defining Roman Catholic doctrine, but had set up an insurmountable barrier between Romanism on one side and every one of the Reformed Churches on the other.

In England, as we have remarked, the Reformation took a course of its own. An undercurrent of Lollardy had survived from the days of Wycliffe, but the English Reformation was not the work of Lollards. From time immemorial, the secular authorities had resisted the claims of the Church to exercise an authority independent of their own. English ecclesiastics had sided with the Crown against the papacy or with the papacy against the Crown, mainly with a view to the maintenance of their own privileges and

**Henry VIII.
and the
Reformation.**

immunities, whether these were threatened by the Crown or by the pope. Henry VIII. regarded himself as a theological expert and a champion of orthodoxy, and he would have nothing to say to the reformed doctrines. But the pope would not annul his marriage with Katharine of Aragon, since Charles v. her nephew championed her cause. Therefore Henry resolved to take the bull by the horns and repudiate papal authority. Therein he found support from bishop and clergy, though not from monks and friars. When he proceeded to declare himself head of the Church, the clergy carried protest as far as they dared, but were compelled to submit. The king also wanted money, and had exhausted the normal means of raising it. The Church was enormously wealthy, and he went on to despoil it, suppressing the monasteries and appropriating their lands on the pretext, for which there was evidence in some cases, that most of them were not seminaries of religion, but hot-beds of vice. There his so-called reformation stopped. But the attack on the power and political wealth of the Church inevitably sapped its authority, and prepared the way for an attack on the theological doctrines on which the claims of priestly authority rested.

Henry was no sooner dead than the council which governed the country in the minority of his son Edward VI. introduced changes in doctrines and ceremonial derived from Lollardy, or from the Lutherans, or from the Swiss schools of reformers; the clergy for the most part accepted the situation. But the young king died, and was succeeded by his elder half-sister Mary. She was a fervent devotee of the old faith, restored the old doctrines and the old ceremonial again with the general acquiescence of the clergy, and then began a persecution of the Protestants, in the course of which some three hundred were burnt at the stake, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer. The persecution turned the scale, for hitherto it had been extremely doubtful whether popular opinion was on the Protestant or the Roman Catholic side; and when Mary was succeeded by Elizabeth in 1558 the country on the whole welcomed a reversion to the Protestantism of the last reign. Incidentally, the Reformation in England had had the effect of creating in the

The Monasteries.

Reformation and Reaction.

Elizabeth.

country a new political power, since the distribution of the monastic lands had brought into being a large new class of landed gentry which greatly strengthened the Commons House of Parliament.

The Peace of Augsburg left Charles practically defeated in all his ambitions. He had failed in his attempt to make himself, as emperor, the real master of Germany. He had failed to suppress Protestantism, as he had failed to effect a religious compromise. He had failed to secure the succession in the empire to his son. He had married that son to the English Queen Mary in the hope of thus adding another kingdom to the dominions of his house, and in this too he had failed since there was no offspring of the marriage. There was every probability that Scotland would be attached to France, as he had hoped to attach England to Spain, by the approaching marriage of the French Dauphin to the young Queen of Scots. In 1556 Charles abdicated, and his son Philip succeeded to the throne of Spain, to all his possessions in Italy, and to the Burgundian inheritance. His brother Ferdinand was in due course elected emperor, and Charles himself died two years later. In the interval England, involved by the Spanish marriage in a war with France, had lost Calais. Two months after the death of Charles, Elizabeth was Queen of England, and her long contest with her Spanish brother-in-law began.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE NEW WORLD ; MEXICO AND PERU

THE reign of Charles v. is also the real period of the expansion of the Spanish power in America; the period when the ancient native civilisations were annihilated. Mexico was invaded in the year of his accession, and Peru was conquered thirty years later. Columbus and his followers had occupied islands, and had begun to settle on the mainland or Spanish Main as it became afterwards to be called; but the Pacific was first seen in 1513 and first crossed in 1521.

It is at this point then that America comes in contact with the general current of recorded history. This is therefore a convenient point for sketching the past history of the continent.

No satisfactory conclusion can be arrived at as to the origin of the races which peopled it; whether they sprang up separately in America, or penetrated thither from North-east Asia, spreading on to Greenland and southwards to Patagonia. In any case, as philologists have discovered no less than a thousand varieties in the languages spoken there, it is quite certain that the human race must have been in occupation of America for an enormous length of time.

With the exception of the Esquimaux in the Arctic regions, all the native peoples are referred to as Indians, simply because the discoverers of America imagined that it was India that they had reached. In North America the bulk of the peoples belonged to the group of Redskins or Red Indians; the southern peoples vary considerably in colour, some of them being extremely dark; but they appear to have no connection whatever with the negro races of our own hemisphere. Long

as they had been in occupation of America, they were some thousands of years behind the inhabitants of the other hemisphere in civilisation. In the year 1500 of our era the most advanced nations were at a stage comparable to that of Egyptians or Babylonians three or four thousand years earlier; of the rest none were more advanced than Celts or Teutons when we meet them in history for the first time, and many were in a far more primitive state. The civilised peoples whose dominions are dignified with the name of empires were all to be found in what we now call Mexico, Central America, and Tropical South America west of the seventieth degree of longitude. Even in these regions it is hardly probable that anything deserving the name of civilisation had been in existence for so much as a thousand years.

It does not appear that what can be called records hitherto discovered go back beyond the tenth century of our era. About that time there existed a dynasty in Central America called the Toltecs. Somewhat less shadowy than the Toltecs are the Mayas, who certainly built large towns and great temples covered with elaborate carvings, which carry with them suggestions of early Egypt more than of anything else in the other hemisphere. The Spaniards found the Maya civilisation still in existence in Central America, but the advancing power was that of the Mexican Aztecs.

In the middle of the fifteenth century a great Mexican kingdom was established by Montezuma I. It was this Mexican kingdom which was overthrown by Cortes in 1520. To the south beyond the Isthmus were the kingdoms of the Chibchas, whose civilisation was still extremely primitive and barbarous. The Chibcha region corresponds roughly to the modern state of Colombia.

It was in Peru, however, further to the south, that the greatest advance had been made in the direction of civilisation. Here the Incas had ruled probably for three or four hundred years. Starting from Cuzco the Incas gradually extended a dominion by methods extraordinary for their humanity among primitive peoples. They came in arms,

but they sought to extend their rule not as destroyers but as benefactors. Wherever they went they brought with them a highly organised system of government; and they imposed their own rule as that of a superior race, the children of the Sun, a caste who reserved to themselves knowledge and authority, but used it for the benefit of their subjects—a claim which their subjects found to be entirely warranted.

The natives whom the Spaniards found in the islands and on their first visits to the mainland were exceedingly primitive,

2. Spanish Conquests. but they heard rumours of nations of a different sort dwelling inland. The Spanish governor, Diego Velasquez, despatched an expedition to Mexico under Fernando Cortes. The party of four hundred Europeans

Mexico. accompanied by half that number of natives had with them a few horses and a few guns, horses and guns being alike unknown in America. The fame of the Spaniards went before them. The ruler of Mexico was Montezuma II., who sent envoys to meet the strangers. Cortes announced that he had come from a great monarch in the east to visit the Emperor of Mexico, and desired permission to do so. Montezuma sent him presents, but forbade him to visit the capital.

Nevertheless, Cortes advanced. Some resistance was offered by intervening tribes, but the superiority of the Spanish arms was demonstrated at once. Cortes went on his way, and Montezuma did not venture to resist his entry into the city of Mexico. The king professed to welcome the strangers, and while refusing to adopt Christianity offered homage and tribute to the great eastern monarch whose servant Cortes declared himself to be. Evidence, however, that he was meditating treachery warranted Cortes in assuming control of the king's person. In the temporary absence of Cortes his lieutenant Alverado, believing that the Mexicans were about to attack the Spaniards in the course of a great native festival, chose to strike first and attack the natives himself. The result was that Cortes on his return found the position of the Spaniards to be extremely dangerous. He compelled Montezuma to show himself to the populace, and proclaim his favour towards the Spaniards; but this only turned

the rage of the people on Montezuma himself, who was so injured by missiles that he died a few days later.

Cortes was obliged to cut his way out of Mexico with his little force, which suffered severely before it could extricate itself from the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. He succeeded, however, in attracting the support of native peoples, who had no love for the Mexican dominion; and was presently able to return to the attack and force his way into the capital, where he established himself and organised a government with great ability in the name of the King of Spain. From this time the Spanish supremacy in Mexico was secured.

A very different man from the chivalrous Cortes was the unscrupulous adventurer, Francisco Pizarro, who accomplished the conquest of Peru in 1533. Rumours had reached the Spaniards not only of a civilised **Pizarro.** nation, but of boundless wealth, silver and gold without limit, existing in the far west. Pizarro and other adventurers went on a private expedition, made up their minds that the prospect was good, and entered into a partnership to exploit the country. Pizarro hastened back to Spain, obtained a commission from the emperor, and returned to the west. Thus armed he was able to collect and equip a tiny force of about two hundred men, and with these he made his way down the west coast to Guayaquil.

The empire of the Incas was at the moment suffering from a disputed succession. The legitimate heir, Huascar, had been displaced by his brother Atahualpa. The arrival of the tiny body of Spaniards on Peruvian territory created no alarm, and Atahualpa sent messages inviting them to his presence. He received them on their approach, and the next day **Conquest** came in procession to meet them in their camp. **of Peru.**

All the conditions favoured the daring projects of the Spaniards, who seized the person of the unsuspecting Inca, while their guns and horsemen dealt slaughter among the hosts of the Peruvian army which, encamped hard by, hastened to the monarch's rescue. Atahualpa offered vast treasures as ransom, which the Spaniards agreed to accept. But, in the meantime, they discovered the existence of the other claimant to the throne,

Huascar. Atahualpa found out that they were intriguing with him, and ordered his execution. Pizarro, having got the ransom, turned on Atahualpa and executed him as an usurper who had murdered his brother.

Nothing is more remarkable than the completeness with which this small band crushed every attempt at resistance on the part of the Peruvians, in spite of their possession of a highly organised army. Steel, gunpowder and cavalry, and the defensive armour of the Spaniards, proved utterly irresistible against a people who, greatly as they had advanced in civilisation, had not learnt the use even of iron. There was no lack of valour among the Peruvians, but they found themselves absolutely powerless against the weapons of the conquerors. Thus was Peru also brought into subjection to the Spaniards.

The Spaniards extended their dominion to the Californian peninsula, and took possession of the mouth of the La Plata **The Spanish** River on the south-east of South America; but **Expansion.** they very soon learnt that ships containing treasure were unsafe unless they voyaged in companies, and the practice began of sending what was called the Plate Fleet home from South America at regular intervals. The great emporium was the city of Cartagena on the Caribbean Sea, near what we may call the stalk on which South America hangs like a pear. The treasures of Peru were brought thither by way of the Isthmus of Panama. In this new world of which they had taken possession, Queen Isabella had originally done her best to safeguard the natives against maladministration and against oppression, but with little effect. Practically they became merely slaves; and since they proved physically unfit for hard labour, and began dying out with great rapidity, while there was no European working population, the practice was instituted at an early stage of carrying off ship-loads of the hardier negroes from Africa to become slaves in the Spanish Indies.

With the exception of the Brazils bestowed on Portugal by the pope, the Spaniards had a monopoly of America, as the **Other** Portuguese had a monopoly of the Indian Ocean **Voyagers.** and the Spice Islands of the Western Pacific. Both countries governed their colonies on the theory that they

were the private property of the Crown. No other European powers had at present come in competition with them. Further to the north the Cabots, Genoese in the employment of the English government, had discovered Labrador, probably before the Spaniards actually reached the American continent ; but though voyages of exploration were made, there were no attempts at settlement. English and French sailors, however, both began to visit the Spanish settlements for trading purposes ; and before long the Spanish government imposed trade regulations on the colonies, with the direct object of excluding these interlopers. Neither French nor English were disposed to admit the right of Spaniards or Portuguese to shut them out of the New World altogether, or to recognise the validity of the laws which excluded them ; and hence there presently arose in the western seas something like a state of perpetual war, which in a strictly legal sense was plain piracy when England was nominally at peace with Spain, but was never regarded as such by any one except the aggrieved government.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ERA OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

DURING the reign of Philip II. the power of Spain was at its height. With the abdication of Charles V. it was separated from the empire; though not from Burgundy, including the Netherlands. But it had the supreme power in Italy; it held possession of the New World; and Philip, during his reign, annexed for himself the Crown of Portugal, and with it all the Portuguese possessions. The Spanish fleets and ships were the largest in the world; the Spanish soldiers had the highest reputation; and for a time at least Spanish armies were commanded by a military genius of the first rank, the Duke of Parma. The defect of the great empire lay in the scattered character of its possessions. Spanish troops could reach the Netherlands or Italy only by sea; France interposed by land. The empire was not homogeneous; it comprised in Europe three entirely distinct and antagonistic nationalities, one of which detested, while another did not love, the supremacy of Spain. Spanish dominion depended on the mastery of the sea, and during the reign that mastery was challenged both by England and by Philip's own revolting subjects in the Netherlands.

Philip regarded himself as the champion of the Church and the scourge of heresy. To stamp out heresy was his mission. The great engine of persecution was the ecclesiastical court of the Inquisition, which was established throughout his dominion; and he entirely declined to limit its operations. Vast as were his resources his government

was always inefficient, because he was incapable of placing confidence in any man, especially any man of ability. His aims were grandiose and far-reaching, his methods slow and ponderous. He never made up his mind to do the right thing until, owing to his delay, it had become the wrong thing.

Philip intended to crush England; when he died his fleets were at the mercy of the English sailors. He meant to crush the Netherlands; when he died the victory of the Netherlands, in their struggle for liberty, was all but assured. He wished to dominate France, and when he died the Spanish party in France had almost ceased to exist. The one thing that he did actually accomplish was to make the Crown absolutely supreme in the dominions which remained under his sway; and to this perhaps it may be added that he had succeeded in convincing himself and the rest of the world so thoroughly of the magnitude of his power, that politicians continued to dread Spain long after she had ceased to be capable of striking any effective blow.

It was fortunate for Philip that during this period France was perpetually prevented by her internal discords from depriving him of the European leadership. The direct line of the house of Valois ended, like the direct line of the old house of Capet, with the reign of a series of brothers, none of whom left children. During the greater part of three successive reigns the dominant personality in politics was that of the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici, who, ignored by her husband Henry II. while he lived, bided her time and reigned while his sons wore the French Crown. To keep the power in her own hands she persistently played off the Catholics and the Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called, against each other, that she might prevent the chiefs of either party from becoming masters of the state. The century was almost at its close before the perpetual embroilments of the two religious factions were brought to an end; and it might be said that for five and thirty years a civil war was either actually going on, or had just been stopped, or was just going to begin again.

In Germany the religious strife was settled for the time being by the Peace of Augsburg. Under emperors who were officially orthodox Catholics, but adopted a liberal attitude towards Protestantism, a critical struggle between the two faiths was deferred; to be then complicated by the Calvinism of sundry Protestant princes which alienated from them the Lutherans, who imagined that their own position had been secured by the Peace of Augsburg. In the meantime the effect was to cause Germany to stand aside altogether from the religious conflicts raging in the west of Europe.

In Spain and in Italy Protestantism was practically non-existent; in England and Scotland its victory was practically secured before Charles v. had been dead three years; secured at least so long as Elizabeth should reign in England, for the plain reason that in the eyes of English Catholics not Elizabeth but Mary Stuart was the legitimate queen. For Elizabeth's legitimacy depended on the validity of the marriage of her mother Anne Boleyn to Henry VIII., whereas the pope had pronounced that marriage invalid. There were no other legitimate descendants of Henry VIII., who had no younger brother; while Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, was the grandchild of his eldest sister. Hence Elizabeth had no choice but to rely on the loyalty of her Protestant subjects. This necessity for her Protestantism became all the more marked when a papal bull issued by Pope Pius v. absolved the Catholics of their allegiance to her while authorising them to pretend loyalty.

In Scotland, on the other hand, Protestantism won, partly from its appeal to the national instinct for independence, partly because the bulk of the nobles were at feud with the Roman Catholic priesthood, who had for long been the mainstay of the royal authority in its struggle with them, and of whose property they intended to possess themselves. When Francis II. of France died after a reign of a few months, and his young widow Mary Queen of Scots returned from France where she had been brought up to her own country, she found the two most powerful men in the kingdom to be the advanced Calvinistic reformer John Knox and her half-brother James Stuart, afterwards Earl of Murray, the leader of the reform

party. The tragic story of her reign, the ill-fated marriage with her cousin Darnley, his murder and her marriage with his murderer, her enforced abdication in favour of her infant son, the rally of her supporters and her flight to England, form a painful and picturesque episode in Scottish history. For nearly twenty years she remained a prisoner in England, the centre of every plot for the removal of Elizabeth and for the restoration of a Romanist monarchy. Meanwhile the Protestant lords governed Scotland, and in England Romanism was more and more identified, both by the government and in popular opinion, with disloyalty.

For fifty years after the death of Charles v. the interest of European history is fixed upon the struggle between Spain and the Netherlands, between Spain and England, and **Centre of Interest.** between Catholics and Huguenots in France. These three struggles are perpetually overlapping each other and becoming involved together, while in all three the predominant element is sometimes religious and sometimes political.

In France throughout the reigns of Francis I. and Henry II. the Crown had constantly repressed the Huguenots while it was quite ready to ally itself with Protestants against Catholics abroad. On the other hand many of the nobles were Huguenots by conviction, and many others hoped to gain power for themselves by supporting the Huguenots. The Bourbon or Navarre branch of the royal family which stood next in succession to the throne after the sons of Henry II. took the Huguenot side, on which the greatest name was that of Admiral Coligny. At the head of the other party was the powerful family of Guise, whose chief was the most popular and successful soldier in France. It was for a long time the policy of Catherine de Medici, the Queen Mother, to prevent either party from being crushed, lest the control of the government should pass from her own hands into those of its chiefs. Foreign policy, however, was dominated by the fear of Spain, and therefore by an inclination to support the Protestant powers and Protestant rulers in antagonism to Spain.

In the Netherlands also the question had two aspects. The north-eastern group of the states over which Philip of Spain ruled had embraced the Calvinistic Protestantism ; **3. The Netherlands.** the south-western group were in the main strongly Catholic. Philip's resolution to stamp out heresy was a grievance only in the Protestant states. But Philip was no less determined to enforce his own system of a centralised government in the hands of Spanish officials, and this was an alien tyranny in the eyes of all Netherlanders alike. The Catholic nobles themselves viewed with extreme disfavour, as an encroachment upon their own jurisdiction, the power of the ecclesiastical court of the Inquisition, which had been instituted here as elsewhere for the suppression of heresy.

Fierce popular insurrections took place, and while the nobles were anxious to keep these in check they were equally anxious to preserve their own traditional liberties. Their leaders were the Catholic Count Egmont and the Calvinist Prince William of Orange and Nassau, whose best-known title is taken from a principality in the south of France. Philip entrusted the government of the Netherlands to the Duke of Alva, who established a bloodthirsty military tyranny ; and, besides carrying on a savage religious persecution, imposed intolerable financial burdens on Catholics as well as Protestants, and executed the popular Count Egmont. Even the Emperor Maximilian II., Ferdinand's successor, protested in vain. The Netherlands rose in revolt, but Alva was too strong, and instituted a reign of terror which seemed to crush out all resistance. But it also bade fair to crush out all prosperity. Again the Netherlands rose in revolt in 1572, and maintained the struggle until, nearly forty years later, the northern provinces achieved their independence.

Meanwhile there had been in France two civil wars of religion and two pacifications. The first contest was terminated by the **4. France : Wars of Religion.** Peace of Amboise, which granted a considerable degree of toleration to the Huguenots. But a meeting between Catherine de Medici and Alva gave rise to a belief that the two were agreed upon a general destruction of the reformed religion. Again war broke out, and again it was terminated by a treaty confirming the Peace of Amboise.

But the peace was only a truce. Twelve months later the war was again in full swing. But Catherine, perceiving that Philip of Spain meant to turn the Guise party to his own uses, began to incline to the Protestant side. Again a treaty confirmed the toleration granted before to the Huguenots, and Huguenot influence now predominated with the young King Charles ix. The Queen Mother again saw power slipping from her own grasp. In 1572 an immense number of Huguenots were assembled in the fanatically Catholic city of Paris to celebrate the wedding of young Henry of Navarre, the head of the Bourbons, with the king's youngest sister. **St. Bartholomew.**

With the connivance of Catherine, the Guises organised a massacre of the Huguenots on the night of St. Bartholomew. Some twenty thousand Protestants were slaughtered, including Coligny, and similar massacres followed in other parts of the country.

The pope celebrated the event by a service of thanksgiving, and Philip of Spain rejoiced; but the world stood aghast. The hope that France under a Huguenot régime would support the revolt of the Netherlands was destroyed. But Catherine saw that whether intentionally or not she had gone too far in surpassing Alva's atrocities. The Huguenots began to recover ground; and three years after the massacre, when Henry III. had succeeded Charles ix., the Edict of Poitiers once more granted a degree of toleration to the Huguenots, after which the pacification endured for seven years. It is to be observed that while King Henry was himself a bitter Catholic he was on ill terms with the Guises, and his younger brother Francis of Anjou associated himself with the moderate leaders of the Huguenots. When Francis died in 1594 the Huguenot Henry of Navarre became heir-presumptive to the French throne. **Reaction.**

The recall of Alva, and the effect on public sentiment of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, brought about a less savage régime in the Netherlands, and the consequent abstinence of the southern states from the revolt which the northern states maintained with a magnificent obstinacy. They were determined to hold out to the last in their demands for religious freedom, the restoration of the old form of government, and the withdrawal of the **5. Netherlands: Renewed revolt.**

Spanish troops, none of which Philip would concede. But a sudden outbreak of the Spanish troops, known as 'The Spanish Fury,' once again roused the whole country, and north and south joined in the pacification of Ghent to renew their demands for freedom. Alva's successor was dead. He was followed by John of Austria, Philip's half-brother, who saw the necessity for making concessions which again parted the Catholic from the Protestant states.

On his death, within two years, the governorship was given to Alexander of Parma, Philip's nephew, who continued the policy of conciliating the Catholic provinces. Systematically, inch by inch, he proceeded with the subjugation of the northern provinces, which still held together in the Union of Utrecht under the leadership of the Prince of Orange. The united provinces declared their own independence, and would have placed themselves under the protectorate of either the Queen of England or Francis of Anjou. Elizabeth declined, and Anjou played the traitor. Then the great chief William of Orange was assassinated. It was well that just at this moment Elizabeth's hand was about to be forced, and she was at last compelled to make open war against Spain. From 1585 the Spaniard had England on his hands as well as the people whom we may henceforth call the Dutch.

Ever since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign she and Philip had been covertly at war, though outwardly at peace, each desiring to defer an open struggle. Philip wished to finish off the Netherlands before turning on England. Elizabeth hoped to evade a contest altogether by delay, while she also knew that with every year England was growing stronger and stronger, and Spain was becoming more and more exhausted. In the meantime her sailors ignored the Spanish trade-laws, and forced their trade on the Spanish colonies at the sword's point. The Spaniards were not content to treat them as pirates, but handed over the English sailors, when they got hold of them, to the Inquisition, to be dealt with as heretics. Thus the English regarded themselves as champions of the reformed faith, warranted like the Israelites of old in despoiling the Egyptians and the Amalekites. With

a clear conscience they robbed the Spaniards on the Spanish Main, and captured their treasure-ships on the high seas. Francis Drake sailed round the world, and brought home untold treasure. The King of Spain demanded that the 'pirate' should be surrendered to him for justice, and the Queen of England replied by knighting him. Philip, and Philip's agents, responded by being in the thick of every plot for the assassination of Elizabeth and the liberation of Mary Stuart. At last matters reached the point at which Elizabeth entered into open alliance with the Dutch; **The Armada, 1588.** and, when she had done so, executed Mary Stuart herself as an accomplice in the Babington conspiracy for the English queen's assassination. Then Philip prepared for a mighty invasion of England; in 1588 he despatched the great Armada, which was first shattered by the English fleet, and then annihilated by storms. From that hour English fleets decisively ruled the seas.

Philip reigned for ten years after the destruction of the Armada. He constructed three more Armadas, but all to no purpose. The English and Dutch had learnt the **Philip's Schemes break down.** vital principle, forgotten for centuries, that a fighting ship should be a weapon of war and not merely a floating barrack for soldiers; consequently, Spanish ships could never hold their own against English or Dutch ships. In the Netherlands William's son, Maurice of Nassau, proved himself a worthy rival of Parma in the art of war, while that great commander was perpetually hampered by his master's distrust, his lack of supplies, wrong-headed instructions, and finally by being twice called upon at a critical moment to turn his arms into France. When Parma died the prospects of a Spanish victory vanished, though the struggle was still maintained for several years. The war was brought to an end in 1609 with what practically amounted to an acknowledgment of the independence of the United Provinces, those which Parma had retained being known for a century to come as the Spanish Netherlands.

There were those in England who would have had Elizabeth devote herself to the utter overthrow of Spain, the ruin of her

commerce, and the capture of her colonies. But Elizabeth did not wish to see Spain ruined; she desired its preservation as **The Maritime War.** a counterpoise to France. Therefore she succeeded for the most part in making the war into a sort of perpetual raid on the Spanish Plate Fleets, only once or twice allowing more serious blows to be struck, and making no attempt to appropriate Spanish colonies.

Walter Raleigh, however, made a series of attempts to plant on the northern continent a real colony, which should be the **English Colonisation.** nucleus of a new England beyond the seas, where English men and women should make permanent homes for themselves, and for their descendants. Raleigh's efforts failed; but the idea, as a commercial speculation, took root in other minds. When King James of Scotland, the son of Mary Stuart, succeeded Elizabeth on the throne of England, by right of inheritance, a charter was granted to a mercantile company to set up a colony, to which they gave the name Virginia, which Raleigh had chosen for his own settlements in honour of the Virgin Queen. After many vicissitudes the new colony established itself securely, the first of a series, which were ultimately to separate from the British Empire and form the United States of America. The accession of the Scots King James in England united the Crowns of England and Scotland, though the two nations were not incorporated in the one kingdom of Great Britain till a century later.

In 1580, on the death of the King of Portugal, Philip claimed the succession in right of his mother, excluding the stronger claim of the house of Braganza. Portugal was **7. Portugal.** thus involved in Philip's wars with the English and Dutch, and at the turn of the century the English and Dutch both began to make entry into the eastern seas, where hitherto Portugal had ruled supreme. From this were to arise the English settlements on the Indian coast, whence after a hundred and fifty years sprang the British dominion in India and the Dutch settlements in the Spice Islands, from which Holland derived substantial wealth.

In France, as was noted above, the death of Francis of Anjou left Henry of Navarre heir-presumptive to the French throne,

King Henry III. being childless. The Catholic leaders headed by the Guises formed what was called the Catholic League, to exclude the heretic prince from the succession, on the principle which Philip of Spain was proclaiming, that any and every heretic was necessarily barred from any throne. In passing we may remark that it was on this plea that Philip, who could trace descent from our Edward III., through a sister of our Henry IV., pretended that he was the lawful sovereign of England after Mary Stuart was beheaded. King Henry III. found himself to his own extreme disgust in the hands of Henry, Duke of Guise, while Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots took up arms to secure the recognition of the Huguenot leader as heir to the throne.

**8. France:
the Succession.**

Hence arose what is called the War of the Three Henries. Guise was assassinated on behalf of the king; nine months afterwards the king himself was assassinated in return, and Henry IV. had to fight for the throne, to which he was legitimate heir, against the League. The League had no one who could plausibly be proposed as having a legitimate title to the French throne, except by setting aside the law of male succession and nominating the Spanish Princess Isabella, whose mother had been sister of the last three Valois kings. Thus the League assumed the appearance of in effect proposing to subject France to Philip's control; nor were matters improved by the suggestion that the princess should marry either one of the Austrian Hapsburgs or one of the Guises. Henry IV. made the most of this situation, and before very long allowed it to be understood that he was willing to satisfy the Catholics by returning to the bosom of the Church while securing religious liberty to the Protestants.

**Henry IV.
of France.**

Until then the fortunes of war varied, since Henry's successes were counteracted by the intervention of Parma. But when Parma died, and Henry definitely declared himself Catholic, there was a great accession of Catholics to his side. Philip was now fighting to gain the Crown for his own daughter, and the League was fighting to put a Spaniard on the throne. When the Guises obtained terms for themselves Philip's war became hopeless, and the

**The Bourbon
Dynasty
established.**

Bourbon dynasty was established on the French throne by the Peace of Vervins in 1598.

Henry had before him the task of settling the religious problems, and of reorganising the government and the finances ruined by the long civil wars. The first problem was dealt with by the Edict of Nantes, which gave the Huguenots almost complete religious liberty. The organisation of finance was placed in the hands of the able and conspicuously honest Sully. Great and successful efforts were made to revive both commerce and agriculture, and to enforce justice in the administration. But it was inevitable that under such circumstances a vigorous king should seek to concentrate power in his own hands, and Henry iv. established the Bourbon monarchy on that basis of absolutism which was to be consummated by Louis xiv. more than half a century after his death.

In Germany the religious truce established at Augsburg was showing signs of breaking down some time before the close of the sixteenth century. Ferdinand and his successor Maximilian II. had both aimed not at religious unity but at mutual toleration by Catholics and Protestants. Rudolph II., who followed them, was emphatically anti-Protestant when he did intervene, but his political activity was limited. Serious questions however arose. The Archbishop of Cologne, one of the Electors, became Protestant, and still refused to resign his see, thus transferring the Electoral majority from the Catholics to the Protestants. But because the archbishop joined not the Lutherans but the Calvinists, the Catholics were enabled to win a victory and eject the archbishop. The Catholics thus secured a majority in the Imperial chamber, and it became evident that they were going to press the advantage which they now possessed.

The one hope for Protestantism lay in the union of the reformers, but Lutherans and Calvinists were hardly less opposed to each other than to the Catholics. Lutheran Saxony suppressed its own Calvinists, while the Palatinate was equally emphatic in its Calvinism. In

Toleration and Absolutism.

9. Germany: The Rival Religions.

The Approach of War.

1609 matters had assumed so threatening an aspect, and the Austrian Hapsburgs were drawing so closely to their Spanish kinsmen, that Henry IV. of France was about to head what might be called an anti-Hapsburg League when he was assassinated, and French influence in Europe was lost for the time being under the regency of his widow. The real outbreak was to come over the question of succession to the Crown of Bohemia.

CHAPTER XX

THE ERA OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

RUDOLPH II. was succeeded as emperor by his brother Matthias. The succession to him was settled upon Ferdinand of Styria, his cousin, a prince of ability and vigour, but an aggressive Catholic. Matthias had succeeded to the Crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, but Bohemia claimed that the Crown was elective; and being a Protestant country, Ferdinand's succession there was likely to be disputed. The Bohemians, however, were surprised into electing him as heir. A strong repressive policy was at once entered upon, and there was an immediate Protestant revolt. Matters were still in the balance when Matthias died. Ferdinand secured the Imperial Crown, but at the same time Bohemia repudiated its previous decision, deposed Ferdinand, and chose for its king Frederick the Elector Palatine, the nominal head of the Protestant Union of Germany and the son-in-law of James, King of England. The King of Bohemia was an elector of the empire; the recognition of Frederick's election as king by Bohemia, of which the legality was more than doubtful, would give him a double vote, and would transfer a vote from the Catholics to the Protestants. The Catholic princes at once united against Frederick, while the Lutheran princes refused to espouse his cause because he was a Calvinist, and also because Ferdinand promised them various concessions as the reward of their neutrality.

Thus began the Thirty Years' War. Within fifteen months of his election Frederick was completely routed at the White Hill, in Bohemia, and Spanish troops in alliance with Ferdinand

were pouring into the Palatinate from the Spanish Netherlands and Burgundy. Frederick himself had to take refuge in Holland. His territories were in the hands of his enemies, and shortly afterwards he was deprived of the electoral dignity, which was transferred from the Palatinate to Bavaria, whose King Maximilian was the ablest of all the Catholic princes and the most valuable of Ferdinand's supporters. Frederick's father-in-law, King James of England, refused to support him when he accepted the Crown of Bohemia, but was extremely anxious for the recovery of the Palatinate. This end, however, he hoped to achieve through the alliance of Spain and England, by marrying his son to the Princess of Spain; an entirely futile hope, since Spain was still as zealous as ever for the destruction of Protestantism, and had everything to gain from the aggrandisement of the Austrian Hapsburg. Moreover, the English people did not care greatly about the Palatinate, but had a firm conviction that if any one ought to be attacked it was Spain, as the natural enemy of Protestantism and of England.

On the other hand the Lutheran princes of Germany were now taking alarm at the rapid advance of the Hapsburg power, and the severe repression of Protestantism in the conquered territories.

In France, after the death of Henry iv., the regency was reactionary and feeble. As the young King Louis grew up, he saw the need of strengthening the central government, which was threatened by the increasing independence of the nobles, while the public peace was endangered by the reviving friction between Catholics and Huguenots. Louis was no master of statecraft, but he had the invaluable quality in a king of bestowing his confidence where it was deserved. The minister to whom he trusted himself was Cardinal Richelieu. Richelieu's policy was the policy of Henry iv.; a policy of religious toleration, of antagonism to the Hapsburgs, and of concentrating power in the hands of the Crown. Under his direction France now intervened. The intervention was brief, because there was a revolt on the part of the Huguenot nobles; but it revived the activity of the Protestants, and encouraged the intervention of other powers.

Incidentally also England was detached from the proposed matrimonial alliance with Spain, and instead of the Spanish princess the French king's sister Henrietta Maria was presently betrothed to the Prince of Wales.

It was in short being realised that the war in Germany was really an international affair; that it would develop into a campaign against Protestantism, which for various reasons involved Denmark, Sweden and Poland as well as Hungary, outside the limits of the empire itself. As concerns Denmark it is enough to say that the Danish king held Holstein as a fief of the empire, as well as certain Imperial bishoprics. As to the other countries named a brief retrospective sketch becomes necessary.

In Poland the reformed religion had made considerable progress. The reigning family of the Jagellons died out in 1572, and the Polish Estates thereupon resolved, first that the monarchy should be entirely elective henceforth, and secondly that Protestants and Catholics should have equal political rights. The king was to be merely a nominal head of what was in fact an aristocratic republic. The third king elected was Sigismund, who was also heir to the throne of Sweden. Sigismund, however, was a strong Catholic, and set about restoring Catholic ascendancy in Poland. When he became King of Protestant Sweden, his attempts to pursue the same policy there resulted in his deposition in favour of his uncle, Charles IX., who ruled with vigour and success, and was succeeded by his son Gustavus Adolphus in 1611. Sweden had disputes with Denmark on the one side, and on the other was threatened by Sigismund of Poland with his claim to the Swedish throne.

At this stage Russia becomes a factor in the complications. We saw that Ivan III. freed himself from the Mongol dominion. During the sixteenth century his successors, notably Ivan the Terrible, extended the Russian kingdom on one side to the Caspian Sea, and tried to extend it on the other side to the Baltic. Here, however, Poland stood in the way, and the Russian expansion was forced back. Then while Charles IX. was ejecting Sigismund from Sweden, the ruling

house of Russia died out. Sweden and Poland both involved themselves in the Russian dynastic struggle which inevitably followed. In the result Russia made cessions of territory both to Sweden and to Poland, but remained independent under the dynasty of the Romanoffs whom she chose herself; while Sigismund and Gustavus Adolphus were left to battle with each other for territories on the Baltic.

As concerns Hungary we have to remark that the country had now fallen practically into three divisions: one under the control of Austria; another under Turkish dominion; while the third, Transylvania, was really an independent principality ruled by Bethlen Gabor. **Hungary.** The aggressive movement of Turkey had ceased towards the end of the sixteenth century, some time after the Turkish fleets had been defeated in the famous battle of Lepanto in 1572; so that there was no immediate pressure from that quarter to hamper the emperor in the German Thirty Years' War to which we can now revert.

In 1626 Christian of Denmark came forward as a prince of the empire to head the Protestant resistance to the Catholic advance. His intervention proved futile. The Imperial armies were successful on all hands, but the Imperial policy itself had changed. In the earlier stage of the war Ferdinand had in effect been in the hands of the Catholic princes headed by Maximilian of Bavaria, who had reaped most of the fruits of victory. **3. Germany and the War.** The successful General Tilly was the instrument of Maximilian rather than of Ferdinand, and Catholic domination was the object in view. But in this second stage there was a new Imperial army in the field, raised by the energy of the Bohemian Wallenstein. It was Wallenstein, not Tilly, who swept down resistance, and Wallenstein's object was to make the emperor personally supreme, a project which was no more to the taste of the Catholic princes than to that of the Protestants; while all German nobility was offended by the rise to power of a Bohemian upstart. **Wallenstein.** The issue was no longer single and direct, when the Catholics found themselves labouring in the cause of a universal Hapsburg domination.

Wallenstein wanted the control of North Germany and the command of the Baltic. The maritime towns of the Hanseatic League refused to be attracted to the Imperial side, and he met his first rebuff when Stralsund refused to open its gates and successfully defied siege. Wallenstein had made it clear that he cared nothing about religious differences. He meant to have an overwhelmingly strong army, with the most efficient officers and men, whether they were Protestants or Catholics, maintained not exclusively by pillage as had been the case with the troops of the Protestant leaders, and even with Tilly's troops, but by forced contributions from Catholics and Protestants alike. He would have created a military empire in which the real ruler would have been the captain of the Imperial army. Ferdinand, on the other hand, influenced by the League, took this opportunity in 1629 to issue what is called the Edict of Restitution, which restored to the Catholics all those bishoprics which had passed into Protestant hands during the last seventy years. This would have created a number of Catholic principalities in the heart of the Protestant north. On the one hand this was obviously incompatible with Wallenstein's plans, so far as they disregarded the religious question; on the other, it gave an impulse to a more active combination among the Protestants.

Although Richelieu was suppressing Protestants in France, he desired the comparative success of Protestantism in Germany as a check on the Hapsburgs, and he negotiated a peace between Sweden and Poland which set Gustavus Adolphus free to throw his sword in the scale. This the Swedish king was the more eager to do, not only from his honest zeal for Protestantism, but because the Imperial scheme was a serious threat to Sweden and her power in the Baltic. The great Swedish soldier landed in Pomerania, just when the German Catholic princes had forced Wallenstein into retirement. For some time, however, Gustavus was compelled to remain inactive by the persistent neutrality of Saxony and Brandenburg, while the great city of Magdeburg was besieged, stormed, and sacked, with a ferocity almost unparalleled. That turned the scale at last. Saxony joined Gustavus, and the

victory of Breitenfeld suddenly transferred the domination of Germany to the Protestant King of Sweden.

We need not follow the campaigns which brought about the complete reversal of the previous situation. The triumphs of Gustavus compelled the emperor to recall Wallenstein, who was now determined to play for his own hand. The two great generals met at the battle of Lützen, where Gustavus himself fell in the hour of victory. There was no one to succeed him capable of carrying out his policy of uniting German Protestantism. A year later Wallenstein was murdered, and the war became a chaos of conflicts with the Swedes fighting for their own hand, the French seeking to snatch Rhine provinces for themselves out of the general confusion, and princes on both sides chiefly engaged in the general game of grabbing territories.

The Thirty Years' War was brought to an end in 1648 by the series of treaties known as the Peace of Westphalia. It had devastated Germany and half depopulated it. It made anything like a unification of the empire impossible for two centuries. It left Austria nothing more than the strongest among the German states, with a merely titular supremacy. It added to the territories of some princes, and took away from those of others, while it gave Sweden a definite foothold south of the Baltic, and it left France the greatest military state in Europe. As to the religious question, it practically restored the Peace of Augsburg, with some modifications in favour of the Protestant interpretations of that compromise, and with an extension to the Calvinists of the rights which had been previously conceded only to the Lutherans. Germany had become practically a collection of states large and small, owing a merely nominal allegiance to the Austrian emperor; and it is Austria, not the empire, Austria with its kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, which now has to be recognised as a European power.

While Germany was tearing herself to pieces, England and Scotland were somewhat similarly occupied with a struggle which was partly religious and partly constitutional. The Crown attempted to render itself absolute, and to impose religious

Later Stages
of the War.

The Peace of
Westphalia,
1648.

uniformity. But in England the people held the power of the purse. The revenues at the king's disposal were not sufficient to

**4. England
and Scot-
land.**

enable him to maintain troops at his own cost.

For that purpose it was necessary to obtain grants from the House of Commons. Without troops the

king could not enforce his will, and he endeavoured by every device for which he could obtain the authority of the Law Courts to extract from his subjects the money which they would not grant him

**The Civil
War.**

except on their own terms. The practical effect was that on the one hand the king was still unable to

obtain sufficient supplies, and the parliament practically claimed the control of policy as a condition of granting them. After long wrangles, and an attempt on the part of the king, extended over eleven years, to live by his exactions, the Crown was reduced to extremities when the Scots took up arms in defence of their religious liberties.

The English parliament was summoned that it might grant supplies for the Scots war. It refused supplies, attainted the king's great minister Strafford, and arraigned the king himself of unconstitutional practices. A civil war resulted. The arms of the parliament triumphed, and Charles became a prisoner; but the power of control passed from parliament itself to the captains of its army. The king attempted by intrigues and plots to recover his own ascendancy. Insurrections in his favour were crushed, and almost at the moment when the treaty of Westphalia was completed Charles was arraigned on the charge of treason before an unconstitutional tribunal, and was executed.

For nine years England was practically under the control of the military dictator, Oliver Cromwell, who received the title of Lord Protector. Under the Commonwealth England

**The Com-
monwealth.**

was able to adopt a vigorous foreign policy from which she had been debarred by the strife between the Crown and the parliament. But such a military monarchy, inevitably ignoring all tradition, was intolerable to England, and its continuity was impossible as soon as Cromwell himself died. In 1660 the nation recalled the exiled King Charles II.

But while Crown and parliament were wrangling during the reign of James I., and the earlier years of Charles I., England

was laying the foundations of a great nation on the other side of the Atlantic. American colonisation began, as we have already seen, in Virginia; but it received a fresh impulse from the persecution by the Crown of the Puritans, the advanced reformers who were not satisfied with the changes in doctrine and ceremonial which had been sanctioned in the Church in England. Forbidden at home to deviate from authorised practice, the Puritans obtained leave to plant colonies to the north of Virginia, where they were at liberty to follow their own devices; and thus the New England group of colonies was established, starting from Massachusetts; while again to the north, French colonists were establishing themselves in Acadia, afterwards called Nova Scotia, and beyond the St. Lawrence in Canada. In the course of time English colonists occupied the whole seaboard between Florida on the south and Nova Scotia on the north.

The
American
Colonies.

Holland also, as we may now call the Dutch Republic of the United Netherlands, which had shaken off the yoke of Spain, had developed colonial enterprises, so that in the eastern seas she held the foremost position. Holland was a republic; but the house of Orange provided her with a series of Stadtholders or Governors of great ability, and the government might really be described as a limited monarchy. Shortly before the death of Charles I. of England, the young stadtholder William II. allied himself to a royal house by marrying Charles's daughter Mary. Not long afterwards William was foiled in an attempt to make himself king, and during the long minority of the son, born after his death, who ultimately became William III. of England as well as of Orange, Holland was vigorously republican under the guidance of the Grand Pensionary, John de Witt. The connection of the young Prince of Orange with the Royal House of England, whose kings Charles II. and James II. were his uncles, had a marked influence on international politics especially after the English Restoration.

5. Holland.

Although Holland was independent after 1609, her status as an independent nation was not fully and formally recognised until the Peace of Westphalia, when the independence of

Switzerland was also formally acknowledged. Nevertheless, before the middle of the century Holland ranked as the most **Dutch and English.** considerable of the maritime powers, though her claim to that position was challenged by England immediately after the close of the Civil War. The energy which created for the English parliament troops which were a match for any in Europe restored her fleet also to the position which it had held at the end of Elizabeth's reign. It cannot be said that either English or Dutch could prove a clear superiority, but no one else could pretend to rival either. In virtue of the fleet, the little group of provinces which had fought so stubbornly against the might of Spain was able to take rank with the first-class European powers.

Spain, though she was at no time during the seventeenth century an efficient power, generally succeeded in persuading herself and the world that she was still to be dreaded, and her recovery would in fact have been perfectly possible under vigorous rulers free from the domination of the clergy. But such power as she possessed was steadily on the wane, and she did little beyond distracting the attention of France and England from the war in Germany. In 1740 the house of Braganza reasserted its claim to the Portuguese Crown, which it recovered largely by French assistance after a prolonged struggle. Both in Sicily and in Naples there were popular revolts against the Spanish rule, though in both the government succeeded with some difficulty in recovering its authority.

With the exception of Holland, the one power which actually advanced its position in Europe during this period was France.

7. France under Richelieu. The active intervention of Richelieu in the Thirty Years' War was checked by the Huguenot revolt. This led to the long siege ending in the capture of La Rochelle, the great fortress and port of the Huguenots. Its overthrow broke the Huguenot resistance, but was not used for the destruction of that party. The earlier treaties had left them in complete military control of several fortified cities, of which they were now deprived; but their ordinary rights as citizens remained to them. But the cardinal's determination to check abuses of administration were extremely

unpalatable to the nobles who profited by them. Plots were formed for his overthrow, in which the Queen Mother and other members of the royal family participated. Still, the cardinal retained his influence over the king, and although it seemed for a moment that his enemies had triumphed, he was able to turn the tables upon them, and many of them fled over the border. Richelieu's hostility to the house of Hapsburg might have brought Hapsburg troops to the support of his enemies, if Gustavus Adolphus had not very opportunely opened that series of successes which gave the Germans more than enough occupation in their own territories.

But Richelieu aimed at diminishing the large powers still possessed by provincial governors in France, and concentrating them in the hands of the central government. The **Domestic** Governor of Languedoc allied himself with the **Rule.** conspirators against Richelieu's power, and revolted. The revolt was suppressed with no undue harshness, but the Governor was sent to the scaffold. The cardinal's position was further strengthened when the birth of an heir, afterwards Louis XIV., destroyed the hopes of the king's brother, hitherto heir-presumptive and one of Richelieu's most persistent enemies.

Richelieu's domestic victories set him free to reap benefits for France out of the German war. His primary object was to cripple Spain, which, under a capable government, **Foreign** might recover its old power if it could establish the **Policy.** connection by land between Italy and the Spanish Netherlands. That connection would be practically secured if the Imperialists held possession of the Rhine valley, since Imperial territory was in effect at the service of Spain. By getting Alsace and Lorraine into his own hands, Richelieu was able completely to sever all land communication between Spain and the Spanish Netherlands. When Richelieu died in 1642 the Spanish hold on Italy was weakened; Portugal had broken away from her, Catalonia was in revolt, and she could not reach the Netherlands; while France had extended her own frontier in the Rhine provinces. Within France itself, he had succeeded in establishing a central despotism, beneficent in its aims, at the expense of the power of the nobles whose minor despotisms had not as a

rule been beneficent. The idea of 'government by the people,' which was at the root of the dispute which in England was just then culminating in the Civil War, had not presented itself to any of the rulers of Europe. Absolutism was the one alternative to feudal disunion and anarchy.

Richelieu died; Louis took for his minister Mazarin, who pursued the great cardinal's policy though by different methods.

8. France under Mazarin. Louis died a few months later, and the regency was conferred on his widow Anne of Austria, who disappointed the expectations under which she had been chosen by retaining Mazarin. Five years later the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin bore its fruit for France in the treaty of Westphalia.

Before the peace was actually signed, there had broken out that travesty of a constitutional struggle known as the War of **The Fronde**; a contest in which there were no principles at stake except the desire of various nobles to get rid of all controlling authority, and of some few to capture the controlling authority for themselves; sign of other than personal motives there was none. Leaders who were on the same side one day were on opposite sides the next. After four years, during which the Spaniards had recovered some ground—for the Peace of Westphalia had not terminated the contest between France and Spain—Mazarin was reinstated in power. The government troops were placed under the command of the great general Turenne. Mazarin sought and obtained the support of the Lord Protector of England, whose fleets under Robert Blake smote those of Spain, while his Ironsides joined Turenne in the Netherlands. Dunkirk was captured, and the conquest of the whole country appeared to be merely a question of time.

The success of France was assured largely through the help she had received from Cromwell. Had Cromwell lived he would have seen to it that the policy of France should subserve his own or at least should not override it. But Cromwell died. England again fell into confusion, and Mazarin could turn everything that had been gained to the advantage of France. Spain

The Treaty of the Pyrenees, 1659.

was isolated, and was ready enough to accept the terms offered by Mazarin, and ratified by the treaty of the Pyrenees. France gave back Lorraine to its duke ; she also resigned all pretensions in Italy. But she received from Spain some frontier territory in the Netherlands with a number of fortresses, and the confirmation of her right to Alsace. At the same time the young King of France, Louis XIV., married the elder of the Spanish princesses, and was thus able forty years afterwards to claim the succession to the Spanish throne for his own grandson. Eighteen months later Mazarin was dead, and the young Louis took upon himself the task of governing France through ministers whose policy was dictated by himself ; not masters of the government but servants of the king.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK VI., 1470 TO 1660

GUIDING DATES

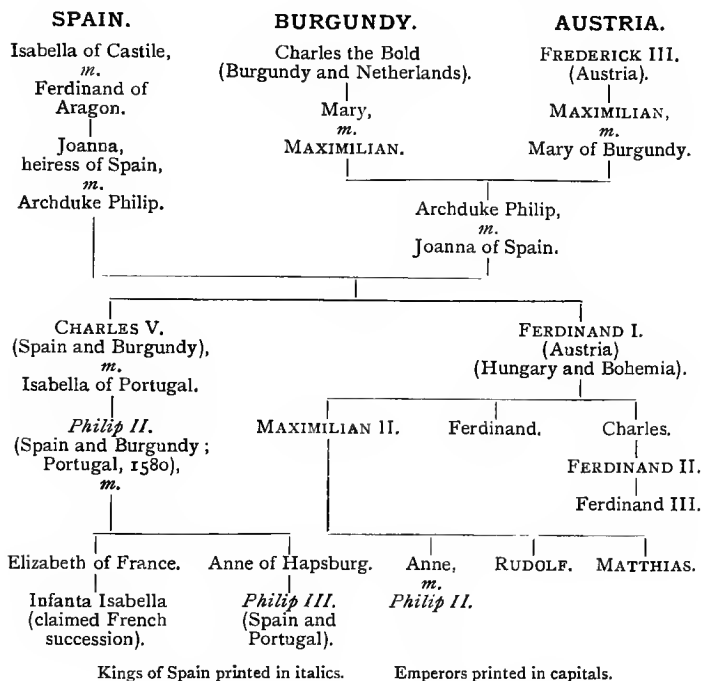
Death of Charles the Bold	1477	Union of Utrecht	1579
Union of Spanish Crowns	1479	Death of Mary Stuart	1587
Tudor Dynasty	1485	Spanish Armada	1588
Conquest of Granada	1492	Accession of Henry IV. in	
Discovery of America	1492	France	1589
Charles VII. invades Italy	1495	Edict of Nantes	1589
Da Gama sails to India	1498	Crowns of England and	
Accession of Charles V.	1519	Scotland united	1603
Conquest of Mexico	1519	Colony of Virginia	1606
Diet of Worms	1521	Dutch Republic established	1609
Peasants' War	1524	Thirty Years' War begins	1618
Babar	1525	Richelieu's Ascendency be-	
Protest of Speier	1529	gins	1624
Conquest of Peru	1532	Rise of Wallenstein	1626
Calvin in Geneva	1536	Gustavus Adolphus in	
Order of Jesuits	1540	Germany	1630
Schmalkaldic War	1547	Accession of the Great	
Peace of Augsburg	1555	Elector in Brandenburg	1640
Akbar	1556	English Civil War begins	1642
Accession of Philip II.	1556	Mazarin succeeds Richelieu	1642
Huguenot Wars begin	1562	Accession of Louis XIV.	1643
Close of Council of Trent	1563	Treaty of Westphalia	1648
Alva in the Netherlands	1568	Commonwealth in England	1649
Revolt of the Netherlands	1572	Treaty of the Pyrenees	1659
St. Bartholomew	1572	Restoration in England	1660

LEADING NAMES

Ferdinand of Aragon—Isabella of Castile—Maximilian of Austria—Savonarola—Erasmus—Luther—Zwingli—Calvin—Leo X.—Clement VII.—Christopher Columbus—Vasco da Gama—Cortes—Pizarro—Drake—Charles V.—Francis I.—Henry VIII.—Philip II.—Elizabeth—Catherine de Medici—Henry IV.—William of Orange—Suleiman the Magnificent—Frederick, Elector Palatine—James I.—Ferdinand II.—Wallenstein—Gustavus Adolphus—Richelieu—Mazarin—Cromwell—Babar¹—Akbar.¹

¹ See Chapter xxiii.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE
SHOWING THE ACCUMULATION OF DOMINIONS
IN THE HANDS OF THE HOUSE OF HAPSBURG.



India. The powerful dynasty of the 'Moguls' was established in the north of India by Babar, a bold invader from Afghanistan, between 1525 and 1529. The Mogul dominion, however, was not secured until his grandson Akbar was placed on the throne in 1556. No serious attempt to conquer the south of India was made till a hundred years later, but this century during which Akbar and his two sons reigned is the time of India's greatest magnificence and prosperity. Till the seventeenth century the Portuguese were still the only Europeans who established themselves in the east; but they did not try to seize territory, being satisfied to exercise supreme control over the seas. In the first half of the seventeenth century

the English were permitted to make a small number of settlements on the coast, exclusively for trading purposes.

Intellectual Progress. The great intellectual movement called the Renaissance began in Italy before the thirteenth century was ended, but the rest of Europe was only affected by it by slow degrees. But at the close of the fifteenth century it became vigorous everywhere, culminating in England a hundred years later with the group of great writers who are called collectively 'Elizabethans,' though much of their work belongs to the reign of James I. It was during the same period that the great advance of science began; astronomy was revolutionised by the Dane Copernicus, and the principles of scientific inquiry were formulated by the Englishman Francis Bacon.

The Reformation. Certain aspects of the Reformation require to be kept carefully distinguished. (1) It was a part of the general revolt against intellectual submission to the dogmatic pronouncements of authority. (2) It was a revolt against specific doctrines which interpose a priesthood as necessary intermediaries between the individual man and his Maker. (3) It was a revolt against the practice of attributing more value to the observance of ceremonial than to obedience to the moral law. (4) But all the reformed churches tended to substitute new authority, new intermediaries, and new observances, for the old. They continued to be intolerant, and to persecute. Acceptance of the principle of toleration was of much later date. (5) It was the logical conclusion of the contest for supreme authority between Church and state. In this aspect, as a matter of fact, the Church found itself compelled to accept subordination even in the states which remained 'orthodox.' (6) It appealed to and was fostered by governments, as providing them with an excuse for seizing ecclesiastical property. (7) The clergy were frequently led to support it, by the desire to free themselves from subjection to an Italian bishop; though many of them returned to the papal allegiance (like Gardiner and Bonner in England) when they found that the alternative was subjection to a lay authority.

BOOK VII
THE BOURBON AGE

CHAPTER XXI

LOUIS XIV

THE aggressive policy which is the most marked feature of the long reign of Louis XIV. did not at once develop itself. The young king had great ambitions; he intended to make himself a good deal more than the arbiter of Europe. But his first business was not active aggression. Mazarin left behind him a group of exceedingly efficient ministers, but none who had been marked out to take his place; it was, however, by Mazarin's own advice that the dangerous Fouquet was removed from the ministry of finance and was replaced by Colbert. For some time Colbert was the moving spirit; he reorganised the finances, and nursed a number of industries into active life by a vigorous protective policy. That is to say the state paid for the creation of industries.

1. Louis XIV.
rules.

Colbert.

In the course of time that came to mean that, foreign competition being completely barred, the French producers lost all incentive to cheapen production, and the public suffered accordingly. But at the outset a start was given to industries which could not have entered the arena of competition unaided, but, once established, would have been able to hold their own.

For the time being the protective policy was accompanied by a great increase of prosperity. It was accompanied also by an energetic development of commerce. England and Holland had set the example of encouraging great commercial companies to which extensive privileges were conceded by the government. The example was now followed in France, where an East India Company, a West India Company, and an African Company were formed. But

Commerce
and
Colonisation.

whereas England went on the principle of conceding privileges in return for cash, and leaving the development of commerce to the enterprise of the Companies, France went to the opposite extreme of making the state a controlling partner ; and the event demonstrated the superiority of the English methods. Further, the development of a great over-seas commerce carried with it the necessity for a fighting navy ; and under Colbert's régime a navy was created, which for a short time was actually able to rate itself as on an equality with the navy of Holland or England.

Beside Colbert's activity in these directions, more system was brought into the organisation of the army, and special attention was given to what are called the scientific branches, artillery and engineering, with notable results.

When Cromwell was ruling in England and Mazarin in France, the Lord Protector had made up his mind that the cause of Protestantism would be furthered by his alliance with France against Spain, since France accepted the theory of toleration, and Spain did not. To all appearance Charles II. was continuing the Protector's policy, by preserving friendly relations with his French cousin. But Charles was actuated by wholly different motives, while the French king's ambitions were taking a direction which would very soon have brought him into collision with Cromwell.

Louis had married the Spanish Infanta with an eye to the Spanish succession. The French law of male succession did not apply in Spain, and between the bride of Louis and the Spanish throne there stood only a sickly youth. It was true that she had renounced all her claims in consideration of a substantial dowry ; still, until that dowry was paid, the renunciation might be repudiated. But apart from the possibility of putting forward a claim to the Spanish throne, Louis had discovered a technical plea on which he intended to claim on behalf of his wife sundry provinces of the Spanish Netherlands ; on the ground that, according to the law in those provinces, the daughter of a first wife, as she was, succeeded in priority to the son of a second, as was her brother Charles, the heir to the Spanish throne. In short Louis intended to have the Netherlands for himself, while holding in reserve a

2. The
English
Restoration.

3. Louis XIV.
aggressive.

The Nether-
lands.

claim to the Spanish throne on behalf of his wife. He meant not the Upper Rhine, but the whole Rhine, to be the boundary of the French kingdom.

This aggressive policy first manifested itself when Philip iv. of Spain died, and the Spanish regency, on the accession of the boy Charles II. in Spain, refused to recognise Louis's theory, that his wife was the heiress of the Netherland provinces. Louis proceeded to invade the Spanish Netherlands and Franche Comté, took complete possession of the latter, and captured most of the fortresses in the former. His alarmingly rapid progress brought about the Triple Alliance between England, Sweden and Holland ; but Louis secured his immediate object by a private agreement with the Emperor Leopold, who had married the younger sister of the French king's Spanish wife. When Charles should die, an event which every one looked for at an early date, the younger sister was to have Spain, and the elder sister was to have the rest. So Louis contented himself with a peace which left him in possession of the captured Netherlands' fortresses.

But Louis had other designs. He intended to be at once the champion and dictator of Catholicism. He intended to restore Catholicism in England, and to destroy the Calvinistic Dutch Republic ; and he also intended France to become entirely Catholic. The King of England was quite willing to fall in with his plans, provided that he could dupe the English people. He did not dare to defy the parliament which was learning to keep a jealous eye on expenditure. He wanted cash for his own purposes, and had no qualms about selling himself and his country for the French king's gold. An anti-Dutch programme seemed practicable because of the jealousy subsisting between England and Holland, which had twice fought each other during the last twenty years. Besides, the overthrow of the Republic was to provide his young nephew, William of Orange, with a throne, though he was to occupy it by the grace of England and France.

So Louis made his private bargain with Charles Stuart, whose ministers were quite ready to desert Holland, while they were kept in ignorance of the other details. Sweden also was detached

**The Triple
Alliance.**

**Louis,
Charles, and
the Dutch
Republic.**

from the Triple Alliance, and the only one of the German princes who threatened to support Holland was Frederick **Holland** William of Brandenburg, known as the Great **isolated.** Elector. The one thing on which nobody had calculated was the character of young William of Orange, who had every intention of recovering the power of his house in Holland, but was no less determined to fight for Dutch independence to the last gasp.

In 1672 Louis opened the attack. The Dutch navy was powerful, and proved itself a match for the combined fleets of **The Invasion of Holland,** France and England, which suffered from the in- **1672.** ability to co-operate, by which allied navies seem to be still more seriously afflicted than allied armies. But the Dutch armies were in a deplorable condition. The partisans of the house of Orange forced the Dutch government to place William in command, but he was almost helpless, and could offer no effective resistance when the French troops entered the United Provinces. The Dutch rose in fury against the government, murdered the two De Witts, and made William stadtholder. William justified their faith in his courage and patriotism. By his order the dykes were opened, and the French troops were literally flooded out of the country.

The French successes had already created so much alarm that the emperor took up arms in support of the Dutch. Louis had to fall back on the defensive. Still the brilliant military genius **War with a** of Turenne enabled the French to check the **Coalition.** German forces at every point. The details of the campaigns during the next three years, especially of those conducted by Turenne, are of great military interest, but cannot be dealt with here. In 1675, however, Turenne himself was killed by a stray bullet, when two other brilliant commanders, the Imperialist Montecuculi and the French Condé, retired. Still, as the war continued, the successes lay rather with the French than with the allies; and the progress of the French navy was signally demonstrated when Duquesne, the French admiral, proved himself a match for the Dutch De Ruyter in the Mediterranean. But in effect France had been standing at bay against

a great coalition, and the brilliant achievements of her generals had not carried her far forward. In 1678, in spite of the opposition of William of Orange, the treaty of Nimeguen brought the war to an end for the time. Spain finally surrendered Franche Comté, but otherwise the possessions of the belligerents were restored practically as they had been when the war began; and France still held the fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands.

**The Treaty
of Nimeguen,
1678.**

For ten years after the Peace of Nimeguen there was comparative peace. Circumstances favoured Louis in making his own use of the treaties without actually inviting the armed attack of a European combination. territories which had been ceded to France in the Rhine district were conveyed under terms which left many open questions. Louis appointed his own courts to interpret the rights of the French Crown under the treaties. As a matter of course the interpretation was in all points favourable to the maximum possible French claim. When Spain declined a complete surrender to Louis's curious principle of arbitration, Louis opened an attack on the towns which were in dispute. Spain could get no help, because the emperor was occupied with a Turkish war. Brandenburg was sulky over the manner in which its interests had been neglected by the allies, and in Holland the old republican peace-party was temporarily in the ascendent. So Louis got his own way in what is called the 'Affair of the Reunions.'

**The
Reunions.**

Louis, however, soon forced Europe to combine against him again. Down to 1683 Colbert was able to exercise some influence in checking his master's aggressiveness, which was fostered by the war minister Louvois. But in that year Colbert died; there was no check on Louvois, while the king fell to a great extent under the influence of Madame de Maintenon to whom he was secretly married. She was a religious zealot, and urged Louis forward to a disastrous attack on the Huguenots. At the same time Louis, like Henry VIII. in England in the past, while parading his championship of orthodoxy was determined himself to be the head of the Church as well as of the state. His arrogant treatment of the pope

**Louis and
the Church.**

alienated the papacy to which his claims appeared more dangerous than Protestantism, while he was energetically supported by the Jesuit organisation.

It was under these conditions that he changed his policy towards the Huguenots. Hitherto he had sought to procure religious uniformity by rewarding converts, among whom was numbered the great Turenne, rather than by severity. Now he took the violent step of revoking the Edict of Nantes, Henry iv.'s charter of Huguenot liberties, and a severe persecution followed. The result was an enormous immigration of Huguenots to England, Holland, and Brandenburg. These Huguenots were the cream of the industrial population. The great industrial advance which owed so much to Colbert was wrecked, while the emigrants greatly stimulated the trade of the countries where they found asylums. The liberal-minded Pope Innocent xi. entirely disapproved, while the measure had the effect of consolidating Protestant antagonism to Louis outside France. On the other hand the attitude of the pope prevented any prospect of a Catholic combination in support of Louis, apart from the fact that the Catholic powers were politically threatened by his aggression no less than the Protestants.

Just at this moment James ii. succeeded his brother Charles ii. on the English throne. He was a bigoted Catholic, and England had just been passing through a stage of particularly violent religious 'panic directed against everything which to English Protestantism savoured of popery. James's chance lay in associating himself with the pope and the principle of toleration. But he wanted French money and French support, and he alone of the Catholic princes associated himself with Louis and with schemes for a forcible restoration of Romanism. The result was that the English nation united in calling to the throne his Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange, Scotland following suit.

Louis saw the European powers on the verge of an active combination against him, and resolved to strike first. But though he was alive to what was going on in England he made the amazing

**Revocation
of the Edict
of Nantes,
1685.**

**4. The
Revolution
in England,
1688.**

mistake of attacking not Holland, but the Palatinate. William was thus set free to make his expedition to England. James fled to France, where he was welcomed by Louis; but England was definitely and decisively added to the circle of the powers actively hostile to France. To Louis's blunder England owed the immediate and complete success of the Revolution of 1688. In 1689 all Europe was practically in arms against the French king. William, the most implacable of all Louis's foes, was in effective control of the forces both of England and Holland. The death of the Jacobite Dundee at Killiecrankie in 1689 secured the new monarchy in Scotland, while the battle of the Boyne next year destroyed the Stuart or Jacobite hopes of making Ireland the basis for a restoration.

**5. France
against
Europe.**

Meanwhile the French, assailed on every side, held their own; and in 1690 the French fleet inflicted a severe defeat on the English off Beachy Head. But this was the high-water mark of the French naval success. Two years later the victor of Beachy Head, in obedience to the orders of the government, accepted an engagement with the English which resulted in a complete disaster. The battle of La Hogue decisively restored the Anglo-Dutch supremacy, and the French never again took the seas in force.

Hitherto the wars of Louis had conspicuously proved that Louvois as well as Colbert was a man of very great administrative powers, although the policy in which he had encouraged his master was evil. But in 1691 Louvois also died, and thenceforth Louis never employed a minister of conspicuous ability. Still, however, his generals were a match for those of the allies. It would be vain to attempt to follow the campaigns in which the more conspicuous victories continued to fall to the French, while the skill of William of Orange repeatedly prevented them from being followed by important results. France, fighting single-handed, felt the strain even more exhausting than the allies. Louis adopted the plan of negotiating with the powers separately. Having thus detached the Duke of Savoy, whose attitude was practically the determining factor on the side of Italy, he was able to extract from the rest more favourable

**Character of
the War.**

terms than he could otherwise have done; especially as the English were by no means zealous in the war, in which they felt that they were being used in Dutch interests rather than their own. They were satisfied with securing the recognition of the Protestant succession by Louis. Holland was satisfied with the occupation of barrier fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands which secured her frontiers against invasion. In Germany

Treaty of Ryswick, 1697. Louis had surrendered all his conquests since Nimeguen except Strasburg. The treaty of Ryswick practically involved something more than the surrender by Louis on all questions which had risen since Nimeguen.

But if Louis surrendered, it was not because he resigned his ambitions. The settlement of the Spanish succession was becoming critical. There was no direct heir to the reigning King Charles II. His sisters, when they married the King of France and the emperor, had resigned their claims. If these were set

6. The Spanish Succession. aside the emperor himself had a claim through his mother, but the validity of both the renunciations was questionable. Possible claimants therefore were a son or grandson of the French king, the son of the Elector of Bavaria through his mother the emperor's daughter, and the emperor himself, whose claim would be transferred to one of his sons born of his second wife. The union of Spain and all its dependencies, either to France or to Austria, would entirely upset the balance of power. Legally the strongest claim was that of the Bavarian prince, which was also the most satisfactory to Europe at large. So after the peace of Ryswick, the powers agreed to a compromise which divided the Italian dominions between the Bourbons and the Archduke Charles, and gave all the rest to the Bavarian prince. The only power not consulted was Spain itself.

Three months after the first partition treaty the prince died. Thereupon the Elector of Bavaria claimed to take his son's place. That claim was rejected, and there was a fresh partition treaty which bestowed the main inheritance on the Archduke Charles, and presented Italy to France, which however was to hand over Milan to the Duke of Lorraine in exchange for his own duchy.

The archduke, it is to be noted, was a younger son, not the actual heir of the emperor.

The powers might make partition treaties, but Spain had its own views, and did not choose to be partitioned. King Charles declared that Philip of Anjou, a younger grandson of King Louis, was his heir; and having done so he died. Louis tore up the partition treaties by which he had bound himself, and accepted the whole Spanish inheritance for his grandson.

For the moment Austria could find no allies to support her in resisting the breach of faith. William was paralysed by the dominance of the peace-party both in England and in Holland; but Louis threw away his own advantages. First he declared that Philip did not forfeit any right which might eventually arise to the succession to the French Crown. Then he turned Holland against him by ejecting the Dutch troops from the barrier fortresses. Then the exiled King James II. died, and Louis acknowledged his son as King of England; and the English people promptly swung over and clamoured for war. William's apparent defeat was turned into a triumphant victory when the Grand Alliance was formed against Louis in 1701; and, though William himself died almost immediately afterwards, he left the carrying out of his policy to the Duke of Marlborough, a diplomatist no less skilful than himself, and a military genius far greater.

At the outset of the war of the Spanish succession, France had two advantages that she had previously lacked. The French succession was popular in Spain, and the Duke of Savoy was her ally, as also was Bavaria. On the other hand the allies, though they suffered inevitably from divided counsels, had for leaders two greater commanders than any of the French, Marlborough and Prince Eugène. The Duke of Savoy did not long remain loyal to France, and Portugal joined the allies. The opening stage of the war gave the advantage on the whole to Eugène in Italy. In the Netherlands Marlborough was hampered by being subject to the control of the Dutch Estates, though as concerned the English government under Queen Anne he had almost a free hand owing to the influence held over the queen by his wife. Still, he was

The Grand Alliance, 1701.

7. War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1713.

unable to adopt an audacious plan of campaign, and had to be satisfied with forcing the French back in the Netherlands by skilful manoeuvring.

In Germany, however, success attended the French arms, and preparations were made for a great blow to be struck in 1704.

**The
Blenheim
Campaign,
1704.** The French in conjunction with the Bavarians were to march on Vienna, counting that by seizing the emperor's capital they would bring him to his knees and break up the coalition. But Eugène in Italy and Marlborough in the Netherlands concerted their own counter-plan for forming a junction and intercepting the French advance. Eugène withdrew his force from Italy to cover the capital. The Dutch would not allow Marlborough, who was Commander-in-chief of the allied forces, to leave the northern theatre of war; but he tricked them by a pretended campaign on the Moselle, from which he turned and suddenly dashed to the south-east to effect a junction with Eugène.

The junction was successfully accomplished, and the united armies of France and Bavaria were shattered at the decisive **Blenheim, 1704.** battle of Blenheim on the Danube. Half the French force was cut to pieces or compelled to surrender, Marlborough having pierced the centre and rolled up the right wing, while Eugène kept the left hotly engaged. The remnant succeeded in making good its retreat and falling back beyond the Rhine, and thenceforth Germany remained entirely in the hands of the allies.

Marlborough returned to the Netherlands, where his second great victory of Ramillies two years later was followed by the **Ramillies, 1706.** capture of the most important cities of the Spanish Netherlands. In the same year Eugène, who had been detained at Vienna by the death of the emperor and the accession of his son Joseph, returned to Italy, where the French had been making way under Vendôme. The tables **Italy.** there were completely turned; the French were practically driven out of the country, and the Archduke Charles was proclaimed king at Naples. Meanwhile English **Spain.** forces under Peterborough had entered Spain by way of Portugal, and an English squadron had surprised and

captured Gibraltar in 1704. There also it appeared for the moment that the victory of the allies was assured.

Next year, however, the campaign in Spain was in favour of the French; and Marlborough was kept inactive partly because his diplomatic abilities were required to prevent the intervention of the Swedish King Charles XII. on behalf of France. But again the French recovery was checked in 1708 by another decisive victory of Marlborough and Eugène at Oudenarde in Flanders, where the control by the allies was again secured.

The strain on the resources of France was becoming cruel, and the conflict was apparently all but hopeless. Louis sued for peace, and would probably have accepted the terms offered by the allies if they had not actually included the demand that he should assist by force of arms in ejecting his grandson from Spain. Louis, since he must fight, preferred fighting his enemies rather than his kinsmen; France answered heroically to his appeal, and the war went on.

Once more Marlborough won a victory at Malplaquet, but at such cost to his own troops that the moral effect in France was almost as encouraging as if he had been defeated. Again Louis proposed peace, and again the same impossible terms were offered. Both Marlborough and Eugène, the conquering generals, were bent on crushing France utterly; and the state of English politics made the duke feel that his own personal power depended on the continuation of the war. The French fought on stubbornly; the exorbitant demands of the chiefs of the allies were condemned by the general sentiment of Europe. In Spain the tide of success turned in favour of Philip. In England the Duchess of Marlborough lost her influence with the queen, and a revulsion of popular feeling against the existing Whig Government brought into office the Tory leaders, who promptly recalled Marlborough and attacked him with exaggerated charges of peculation and misconduct. The death of the Emperor Joseph gave the Austrian succession and the Imperial Crown to his brother, the Archduke Charles; so that, as far as the balance of power was concerned, his claim

to the Spanish throne was just as objectionable to Europe at large as that of Philip.

Practically it was the Tory Government in England which negotiated in 1713 the Peace of Utrecht. The Dutch and afterwards the emperor were compelled to accede to the arrangement. Philip got Spain and her American colonies, he and his heirs being barred from succession to the French throne; while the rest of the French royal family were similarly barred from the Spanish throne. Holland was secured by receiving the barrier fortresses. The Spanish Netherlands became the Austrian Netherlands, the Italian kingdoms and duchies went to Austria and Sardinia to the Duke of Savoy, while England kept Gibraltar and Minorca and received Nova Scotia. In 1715 Louis XIV. died, leaving as his heir a three-year-old grandson, and as regent his nephew, the Duke of Orleans.

CHAPTER XXII

THE EAST AND THE NORTH

DURING the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, the Ottoman power had ceased to be actively aggressive in Europe. This was partly owing to the vigour of the Persian Empire under the Safavid dynasty on its eastern border, but still more to sheer incapacity or misrule at Constantinople. This Safavid dynasty, we may note in passing, arose at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and lasted till the middle of the eighteenth. The title of the 'Persian Sofy' is derived from it.

Towards the end of this period a maritime war broke out with Venice. But in 1656 court intrigues raised an Albanian, Mohammed Kiuprili, to the office of Grand Vizier or Chief Minister, and there ensued an era of renewed vigour. The Ottomans attacked Transylvania, a virtually independent principality comprising the eastern portion of Hungary, over which they claimed sovereignty. The Emperor Leopold supported Transylvania, and the Ottoman viziers turned hostile eyes on Vienna. In 1664 they were defeated at St. Gothard and made peace, withdrawing their troops from Transylvania, but still receiving tribute from it. They then turned to the completion of the war with Venice, which was compelled to surrender Crete in spite of the stubborn defence conducted by the heroic Morosini.

The next move was made upon the Ukraine, a district in the south of what is now Russia, occupied by the Cossacks. This had recently been partitioned between Russia and Poland against the will of the Cossacks, who appealed to the Turks.

In spite of the military successes of the Polish commander John Sobieski, who was afterwards raised to the Polish throne, the Turks obtained possession of the province of Podolia for themselves.

But further opportunities of aggression were provided by Hungary. The Emperor Leopold ruled oppressively in that portion of Hungary which was still retained by **Hungary.**

Austria. Hungary revolted, with encouragement from France which was now at war with the emperor, as well as from Poland and Transylvania. The revolutionary leader **Turks besiege Vienna, 1683.** allied himself with the Turks, and for the second time the Ottomans marched on Vienna. The treaty of Nimeguen had put an end for the time being to the war between Leopold and Louis, but the emperor was without trustworthy allies until he succeeded in winning the support of John Sobieski, who was now King of Poland. Vienna was besieged by a vast army, but Sobieski advanced to its relief and inflicted an overwhelming rout on the Turkish forces. This was followed up by a further attack, no less successful, on the Turks in Hungary. Venice joined with the empire, and the Turks met with a series of reverses while Hungary was sternly punished for its rebellion, and Transylvania was again brought under the Austrian sovereignty. In 1688 the Imperialists captured Belgrade. In spite of the renewed outbreak of war between France and the emperor, the Imperialists continued for a time to win victories. Then came a period of

Last years of Turkish aggression. Turkish successes while the best of the Austrian generals were engaged in fighting the French. At last, however, in 1697 Prince Eugène was set free to take command, and won a great victory at Zenta, while the Russian Tsar Peter the Great was attacking them on the north-east. The treaty of Carlowitz in 1699 brought the war to an end. Austria recovered practically all Hungary; Poland recovered Podolia, and Russia retained Azof on the Black Sea which she had seized. Turkey retained Belgrade which she had recaptured.

The war with Austria was not renewed till 1716, when Eugène's victory at Peterwardein deprived the Turks of their

last foothold in Hungary, and in the following year he crowned his triumphs at the battle of Belgrade. The treaty of Passarowitz closes the last period of Turkish aggression.

Meanwhile the states on the Baltic had been the scene of picturesque and sometimes important events. Gustavus Adolphus was succeeded on the Swedish throne by his daughter Christina, a remarkable lady, who governed with vigour for ten years after she came of age, and then at the age of twenty-eight abdicated in favour of her cousin Charles x. Charles was a brilliant soldier, moved by a spirit of conquest. He attacked and overran Poland, and was attacked in turn by Denmark, which he vanquished in an astonishing campaign. His death after a meteoric career in 1660 was followed by the treaty of Oliva.

But the man who had really profited by the Swedish king's operations was Frederick William, the 'Great Elector' of Brandenburg, who had given Charles support or opposition strictly with an eye to his own advantage. Attached to the Electorate of Brandenburg was the principality of Prussia beyond the Vistula, formally held by the Teutonic Knights, and still subject to the sovereignty of Poland. The elector seized his opportunity to procure from the King of Poland the release of Prussia from his sovereignty, and it thus became his own independent possession.

Sweden now passed under a regency which after joining the Triple Alliance with England and Holland against France in 1668 was bought over like the English king by Louis four years later. Frederick William stood by Holland, and the young Swedish King Charles xi., who now took up the government, found himself obliged by the French treaty to invade Brandenburg. In an extremely successful campaign the elector drove out the Swedes, but was deprived of his subsequent conquest of Pomerania by a treaty forced on him by France after the Peace of Nimeguen. Still the acquisition of Prussia as an independent possession prepared the way for the future power of Brandenburg, though for purposes of consolidation she still needed to acquire the territories between Brandenburg and Prussia. Charles xi. in Sweden devoted most of his reign

to consolidating the power of the Crown at the expense of the nobles, and to domestic reforms.

Sweden played and was still to play a dramatic part in European politics, though her resources would never have enabled her to secure a lasting position as a first-class power. But one first-class power was in the making in Brandenburg, and another in Russia. Hitherto Russia had stood outside the area of civilised Europe. Until the end of the fifteenth century she had been under the sway of the Mongols. She was cut off from maritime communication with the west, which by land she could only reach through Poland. When English sailors during the sixteenth century found their way from the White Sea to the Court of Ivan the Terrible, people in England talked of the 'discovery of Muscovy.' She had failed even to reach the Baltic, while the provinces on the seaboard were secured in spite of her efforts by Poland and Sweden. Russian civilisation was rudimentary. But in 1682 there succeeded to the Russian throne the boy Peter, who seven years later freed himself from all control, and set about the creation of the Russian empire.

Peter was a savage, but he was also a genius. He resolved to organise Russia into a state on the western model, and to turn a barbarian nation into a civilised power. Russia was ignorant of western methods, and Peter resolved to learn them in person. He came to Holland and to England to acquire a practical knowledge of ship-building as a workman in the Dutch and English yards. He returned home and made himself complete master of the government by the help of troops formed on western models under the command of Scottish adventurers of a type common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the poverty and the turmoils of their native land sent Scots abroad in large numbers to seek their fortunes, chiefly by the sword as mercenaries. By his Imperial will he abolished the customs of centuries, and forced his people to adopt those which prevailed among the civilised nations of the west. By the strong hand he imposed his own authority and supremacy on the Church, and made the Crown as completely

supreme in spiritual as in secular matters. But his grand object was to establish himself on the Baltic and to create a naval power, ends which could only be compassed at the expense of Sweden. He had got his starting-point for naval training when he secured Azof on the Black Sea from the Turks.

Sweden was in possession of nearly all the territories washed by the Baltic; but the populations, Swedish by conquest only, were hostile to the Swedish rule. Poland, Brandenburg, and Denmark were all hungering to recover what Sweden had robbed them of. In 1697 a boy of fifteen had just ascended the Swedish throne. Peter found his opportunity for an alliance with Poland for the partition of the Baltic provinces. They were joined by Frederick of Denmark, whose desire to annex Holstein was blocked by Sweden. In viewing this combination, however, we must note first the absence of Brandenburg, whose elector, Frederick, was a less enterprising person than his father Frederick William; and, secondly, that the people of Poland and the King of Poland were a long way from being in harmony. The great John Sobieski was dead, and the Poles had chosen for their king Augustus, the Elector of Saxony, who wished to make himself an absolute monarch—the main object of every prince at this time—whereas the Polish constitution designed that the king should be merely a figure-head.

In 1700 Denmark was on the point of opening the attack on Holstein. The Swedish council of regency was alarmed at the coalition, and would have conceded everything to everybody, if young Charles himself had not grasped the reins of government by a *coup-d'état*. Before three months had passed he had struck at Copenhagen, and compelled the King of Denmark to retire from the coalition. Riga, attacked by Augustus of Poland, successfully defied the assailant, and Charles with supreme audacity flung himself with a small body of troops on the Russian hosts which had collected at Narva on the Gulf of Finland. The Russians, as yet wholly inexperienced and undisciplined, were scattered; and Charles proceeded to sweep the King of Poland's Saxon troops out of Livonia. Then he made the mistake of disregarding Russia and attacking Poland, demanding the deposition of King

Sweden :
Charles XII.

Successes of
Charles.

Augustus. The Poles were willing enough to depose Augustus, who had no one to fall back on except Russia, the rest of the world having for the most part enough on its hands with the war of the Spanish succession. But when Charles insisted on the election of the Polish noble Stanislaus Leczinski, he threw a great many of the other nobles into the arms of the deposed ruler. But wherever Charles appeared he was irresistible.

His next move was to occupy Saxony itself. Augustus was obliged to resign the Crown of Poland to Leczinski, though he retained the title, and to give up the Russian alliance. It was at this time that the operations of the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV. were perturbed by the fear that Sweden might join with France.

Meanwhile, however, Peter of Russia had been reorganising and drilling his army, and in his turn was overrunning those

Charles invades Russia. Baltic provinces which had been destined for Poland. The amazing successes of Charles had been accomplished with very few troops, and he was

never able to leave a substantial force to hold the territories which he conquered with ease. Now, like Napoleon a hundred years afterwards, he thought he could bring Russia to her knees by marching on Moscow. Peter avoided battle with the great captain, but fell with his whole army on the reinforcements which were following, of which only a remnant cut its way through and joined Charles. Finally, while Charles was besieging

Pultawa. Pultawa, Peter arrived with an overwhelming force and annihilated the Swedish army. Charles, who was suffering from a wounded foot, was with difficulty extracted by some of his gallant followers, and carried to safety across the Turkish border, where he remained for a long time engaged in attempts to persuade the Sultan to turn his arms against Peter.

It was not till 1710 that he achieved this object, and in the meanwhile Peter had completely secured himself in possession

Peter and the Turks, 1710. of the provinces on the eastern shores of the Baltic. When at last the Turks were induced to declare war on Russia, Peter advanced against them, but found himself trapped and at the mercy of his enemies

on the River Pruth. Instead of annihilating him, however, the vizier was content with a treaty which deprived Russia of Azof.

Charles was only induced to leave Turkey, where he was becoming an extremely unwelcome guest, by the news that his territories on the German Baltic coast were on the verge of being lost. Even his return could not save them.

It is curious at this point to find Charles and Peter contemplating an alliance under which Peter was to be secured in all that he had gained, and was to help Charles in the recovery of the German provinces. But the schemes of Charles were brought to a sudden end by his death before Friederichshalle in Norway, which he had invaded. Its annexation to Sweden was part of the scheme in which Peter and certain other powers were proposing to act in concert. A further effect of the king's death was a domestic revolution in Sweden which ended the system of absolutism that Charles XI. had instituted, and placed the effective control of the government in the hands of a narrow oligarchy.

The remaining years of Peter's life were spent mainly in working out the organisation of the empire he had created, and in making the new city of St. Petersburg which he had founded on the Neva a capital, representative of new Russia as Moscow stood for the Russia of tradition. In spite of the attempts which were made during the three years following his death to curtail the royal power, it was completely re-established on the accession of his niece the Tsarina Anne.

English history so far as it was directly connected with continental affairs has been included in the narrative of the last chapter. Our domestic history however has its bearings on history at large, and requires to be sketched here along with that of the other northern powers.

The Restoration of 1660 placed Charles II. on the throne, just at the time when his cousin Louis was on the point of assuming active control in France. He returned to England on terms which secured to parliament a command of the purse so complete as to ensure to it ultimate

The End of Charles XII.

1718.

The End of Peter the Great.

1725.

3. England and Scotland.

The Restoration.

control of the government. The king set himself to obtain from his cousin of France supplies which would render him independent of parliament, but until this could be accomplished he could only carry out plans of his own by cajoling or hoodwinking parliament into supporting them. Whenever parliament made up its mind to a particular course, he submitted gracefully. But in the long-run he got his money out of the French king, though he declined to run risks in carrying out his own side of the bargain with Louis. During the last years of his life he was able to dispense with parliament, and to secure the succession of his brother James.

Charles always stopped short of personally outraging public feeling, when he overrode the law or wrested it to suit his own purposes. James seemed to miss no opportunity

James II. of arousing every kind of antagonism to himself. He forced into opposition those very elements in the country which were naturally most loyal to the Crown. The division of parliament into two great parties, named Whigs and Tories, had taken shape in the reign of Charles II. But the Tories and Churchmen who had supported the accession of James joined with the Whigs and the Nonconformists who had endeavoured to prevent it, in calling William of Orange to the throne in his place.

William retained for the Crown during his life-time the real sovereignty, because, in spite of his unpopularity, he was indis-

William III. pensable to the nation, and in the last resort could threaten to resign the Crown and go back to Holland; but if parliament had been prepared to face that alternative, it held in its hands the power to compel the Crown to obey its wishes, and generally speaking William had no desire to override its wishes so long as he managed foreign policy.

When William died parliament had still not fully realised its own strength, and the system of party government—that is, of

Anne. ministers chosen from the party in a majority in the House of Commons—was not fully established. Even while Anne reigned, it was by the personal power of the queen that Marlborough first ruled the country and was then

overthrown. But parliament had secured the succession of the house of Hanover after her death; and when King George ascended the throne in 1714, the supremacy of parliament and party government was immediately established.

One other event of vital importance took place during Anne's reign. This was the incorporation by treaty of England and Scotland as a single kingdom with one legislature **The Union,** and one crown; for hitherto there had been nothing **1707.** to prevent either kingdom from changing the line of succession to its own throne. Also the incorporation, by removing commercial distinctions between the two countries, hitherto a grave impediment to Scottish industries and commerce, sowed the seed of Scotland's financial prosperity in the future, though nearly half a century elapsed before the result was fully realised. Henceforth, instead of the kingdoms of England and Scotland there is a single power, that of Great Britain.

The accession of the house of Hanover definitely established the principle that there is no unalterable law of succession in England. Its course was fixed by an act of parliament sanctioned by the Crown which precluded any **The** Roman Catholic from sitting on the throne. This **Hanoverian** settled the succession on Sophia, the grand-daughter of James I. and daughter of the Elector Palatine, whose Catholic descendants were barred equally with the exiled Stuarts. Her husband, the Duke of Hanover, had been made a ninth Elector of the empire; whence she is known as the Electress Sophia. Hence it was actually her son George, the Elector of Hanover, who succeeded to the English throne on the death of Queen Anne. **Succession.**

For a little more than thirty years longer the claims of the exiled Stuarts of the English throne served not only to complicate English politics, but also as a not very powerful weapon in the hands of her enemies abroad. **Jacobitism.** Ministers in England could never feel quite free from the fear of a possible restoration; while on the other hand the Hanoverian kings knew that they were in England only on sufferance, and could never set themselves in opposition to the will of parliament. By this means that constitutional government

was established which excited such enthusiastic admiration in the minds of political philosophers during the eighteenth century, when Great Britain possessed the only strong government in Europe which did not rest upon the absolute power of the Crown.

CHAPTER XXIII

INDIA

HITHERTO we have only on rare occasions made reference to India and the far east, since those regions have hardly come into touch with the story of the western nations. Now, however, we are approaching a point where influence and dominion in India become a prominent source of rivalry between European states, and we must trace the past history of the great peninsula.

In one of the earliest chapters we recorded the great Aryan immigration, which in course of time dominated all but the most inaccessible regions between the sea and the **1. 2000 B.C.** mountains which cut India off from the rest of the **to 1000 A.D.** world. The Aryan invaders, disciplined and organised hosts, regarded their predecessors in the land with contempt, as an altogether inferior race, whom they forced into **The Aryan** servitude. They themselves were the 'twice- **Conquest.** born,' the rest were the 'once-born,' a caste apart, degraded and degrading. At a very early stage the twice-born themselves were divided into three castes: the Brahmans, the priesthood who held the keys of religious knowledge and culture in general; the Kshatryas, the warriors and men of action whose war-leaders were the princes; the Vaisyas or industrial class, inferior to the other two, yet having a great gulf fixed between them and the Sudras, the lower conquered race.

At first the division was not altogether rigid. The older barbarians were occasionally strong enough to win temporary recognition, even to the extent of matrimonial **Strife of** alliances. The blood of the twice-born was not **Castes.** kept altogether pure; in fact, it is probable that the 'religious

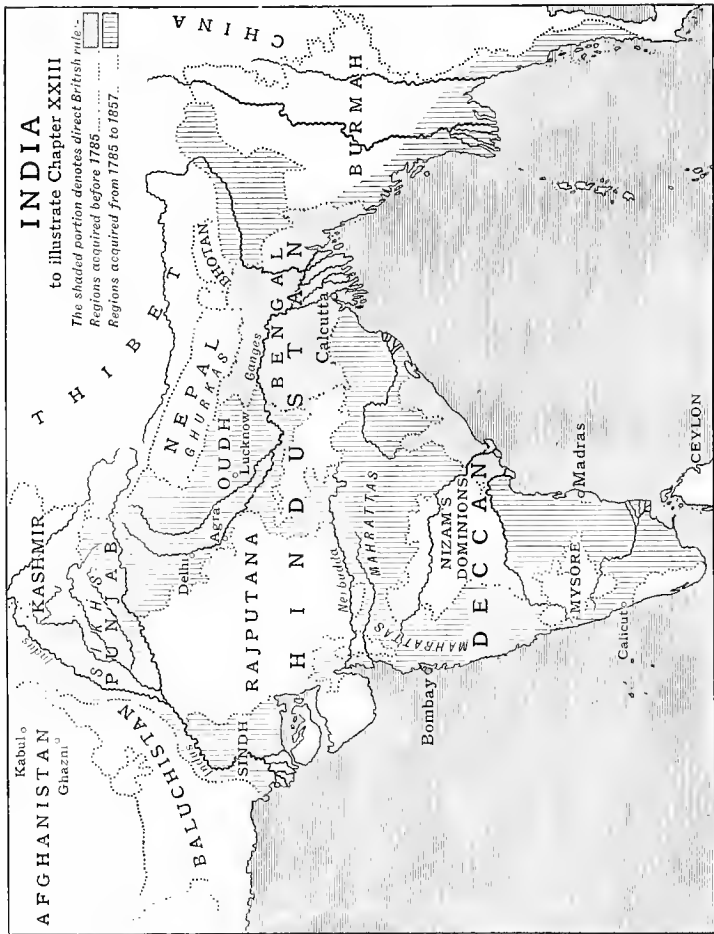
INDIA

to illustrate Chapter XXIII

The shaded portion denotes direct British rule -

Regions acquired before 1785

Regions acquired from 1785 to 1857



sanction' of the division, the doctrine of the twice-born and the once-born, was developed after the first immigration. The hymns and epic poems from which we derive our earliest knowledge say nothing of caste. But the next group of poems, the *Mahabharata*, are clearly the outcome of a period when the military and the learned castes had not only taken shape, but were carrying on a long and severe struggle for supremacy, in which the priestly caste was successful. It was somewhat as though the papacy in mediaeval Europe had achieved the highest dreams of Innocent III. or Boniface VIII., and compelled secular kings and nobles to submit to it. Later still—perhaps about 1000 B.C.—the fully developed system is expressed in the code of Manu.

The four castes now were rigidly defined and kept apart; the distinction of classes was not merely a social one which could be overcome; it was fundamental, the breaches of it carrying severe religious penalties. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Brahmins were the sons of Brahmins; the caste was not artificially produced like the celibate ecclesiastical orders of the Christian Church; it was hereditary, like the others. The fact remains that there were long periods when the strictness of the law was relaxed, so that in later ages the purity of Kshatriya (otherwise called Rajput) blood became questionable among most of the self-styled Rajputs, and this was still more the case with the Vaisya. Moreover, all the four castes became subdivided into innumerable hereditary castes divided for matrimonial and other purposes by almost impenetrable barriers.

**The Ancient
Caste
System.**

The caste system, however, as Europeans have known it in India, was a much later development. The old Brahmanism was shaken to its foundations by the rise and expansion of Buddhism about the sixth century B.C.; while the lower classes, forbidden to search into the mysteries of religious knowledge, naturally sought satisfaction in absorbing the superstitions of the conquered peoples. In time Buddhism expanded beyond the borders of India, and spread all over the far east till its votaries became perhaps more numerous than those of any other cult in the world. But within India the

**Buddhism,
600 B.C.**

old religion reasserted itself, taking shape in the Hinduism which is still dominant; to the multitude, a materialistic polytheism worshipping countless grotesque deities; to the few, a subtle and absorbing philosophy; to all, a faith having not a few precepts or ordinances which can be broken only at infinite risk to body and soul.

We cannot attempt any examination or summary of the Buddhism by which Brahmanism was temporarily eclipsed.

500 B.C. to 300 B.C. But for a time it destroyed the predominance of the caste system, and there arose kingdoms and empires under princes who were neither Brahmans nor Rajputs.

About the time when Buddhism was born, the north-west of India came in contact with the newly risen power beyond the mountains; Cyrus possibly, Darius certainly, sent expeditions which penetrated into the Punjab, and claimed sovereignty—in other words, tribute. Herodotus describes an ‘Indian’ contingent—not at all recognisable—as present with the great army of Xerxes when he invaded Hellas. Alexander the Great broke through the barrier, and met with a stubborn resistance in the land of the Five Rivers, but his troops would follow him no further. The Greeks did not at once evacuate the country completely, but never exercised more than a nominal sway. Not long after we have authentic knowledge of the great kingdom of Magadha, the prototype of the empires which had their seat at the city of Delhi on the Jumna, the most westerly of the Ganges river-group.

In Magadha reigned the great prince Chandragupta, with whom Seleucus found it better to establish friendly relations than to wage war. Practically, he was monarch or emperor of all Hindustan (the northern half of India); and of all ancient rulers in India the greatest was his grandson Asoka, who ruled between 270 and 230 B.C. He was a prince of the type of Alfred the Great or St. Louis, who won the reverence and even the submission of his neighbours by the pure nobility of his character no less than by his wisdom.

A Scythian invasion and occupation of the Punjab in the first century B.C. is held to have left distinct traces among the peoples of that region. But Indian history relapses into a general vagueness. A great Maghadha kingdom is again distinguishable after

the third century A.D. ; and then about the sixth century, a great Hindu kingdom in the Deccan, the plateau of Southern India ; a kingdom which later split in two. The thousand years between 500 B.C. and 500 A.D., and the ensuing period in the south, are probably the era during which fusion between the Aryans and their predecessors was carried furthest. The completeness of the early conquest in the Indus and Ganges basins had already reduced the previous population to such a condition of serfdom that there was less tendency to amalgamation in that area, and it remained essentially the land of the Hindus, Hindustan, where Brahmans and Rajputs still maintain a claim to unsullied descent.

Some considerable time before 1000 A.D. Buddhism was already disappearing before the later Hinduism, the corrupt offspring of the ancient Brahmanism with its ugly admixture of demon worship and other superstitions borrowed from the old Dravidian populations ; the more readily, because Buddhism itself was suffering from corruptions. We have already seen how Islam made conquest of all Western Asia as well as of North Africa, and even of Spain, in the seventh and eighth centuries ; but though the Arabs did occasionally penetrate India's mountain barrier, there was no effective invasion till Mahmud of Ghazni's first great incursion in 1001 A.D., when that great captain found himself opposed by Rajput armies as passionately attached to their own Hindu creed as were his followers to Islam.

Year after year Mahmud hurled his armies into the Punjab, ravaging and spoiling as far south as Somnath in Gujerat, but otherwise confining his operations to the lands watered by the Indus and its tributaries. He did not organise his conquest, beyond leaving garrisons under military governors ; the Indian territory was only an outlying province of his empire. But when his successors lost their dominions, they still for a time retained possession of the Punjab, in which there was now a military Mohammedan population of mixed Turks and Afghans, lording it over the Hindus whom they held in subjection. Towards the end of the twelfth century the Ghazni dynasty was finally overthrown by another Afghan dynasty, that of Ghor.

**A Thousand
Years.**

**Hinduism
established.**

**2. The
Mohammedan
Ascendency.**

The Ghori monarch extended the Mohammedan sway over all Hindustan, not without long and fierce struggles with the Rajput **The Ghori** princes. But there was no single Hindu empire to **Dynasty.** face their attack, no united resistance. Kutb ed-din, the great captain of the Ghori monarch Moizz ed-din, carried the conquering arms of Islam as far as Benares on the Ganges, and the borders of Bengal. Kutb ed-din himself was a Turk, originally a slave of Moizz ed-din, who had risen to his high position in virtue of his talents. It is not unusual in the east to find slaves thus elevated to offices of trust; for any member of the reigning family, or any great noble in such a position, was exceedingly apt to utilise it in order to seize the throne for himself. A slave, whose power was derived entirely from royal favour, was far less dangerous; yet not a few slaves were able in this way to snatch a crown when the ruler's death left rivals striving for the succession.

Such an opportunity occurred soon after the death of Moizz ed-din. Kutb ed-din seized the throne and ruled vigorously for **The Slave** a short time. Throughout the thirteenth century **Dynasty.** the 'Slave' dynasty held sway, with its seat of government at Delhi; strictly, it was not a dynasty, since more than once another slave-captain ejected the heir of his predecessor. One of the most vigorous was Altamsh, whose judicious attitude towards Genghis Khan, the great Mongol conqueror, saved India from being devastated by the hordes which defiance would have brought down on Hindustan. Altamsh, when the Mongol had turned his attention to other regions, subdued all resistance and made himself master of all Northern India. Both Altamsh and Balban—another slave who had been Grand Vizier or first minister and then secured the Crown—were able rulers, whose courts won a high reputation for their intellectual character; as had been notably the case with Mahmud of Ghazni.

It was not a slave but a Turk noble—that is, a noble of Turkish descent—who secured the Crown of Delhi soon after the **The Khilji** death of Balban. The first ruler of the new Khilji **Dynasty.** dynasty, Feroz Shah, routed an invasion of the Mongols whose power had now broken up, but was soon after-

wards murdered. The Crown was seized by his nephew Ala ed-din, who took the name Mohammed Shah. He was the first who extended the Mohammedan empire of Delhi over a substantial portion of the Deccan and ultimately over the whole peninsula. It must be remembered that the Mohammedan Turks and Afghans were a military ruling race, who held sway over the Hindus as subjects without intermixture, in virtue of their military organisation. To the Hindu they were out-caste, once-born like any Sudra ; while to them the Hindus were heathen idolaters. Direct persecution, however, was not habitual, and a gradual fusion of manners and customs was in progress. 1296.

Once more a new dynasty arose after Mohammed's death, beginning with another Turk slave. The Tughlak emperors ruled for nearly a century. The second of the line was Mohammed Tughlak, half genius and half madman. One of his crazy schemes was an invasion of China across the Himalayas by a great army which perished in the mountain passes as utterly as the Grand Army of Napoleon's Moscow expedition. But the empire fell to pieces after the reign of his wise successor, Feroz Shah, who could not stop the disintegration, which was completed by the invasion of Tamerlane. On this occasion Delhi was sacked, and the inhabitants massacred. The Lodi dynasty, which succeeded the Tughlak, scarcely held dominion outside the Delhi district ; though in the second half of the fifteenth century Bahlul Lodi and his son again more or less subjugated Northern Hindustan. The Later Kingdoms, 1321-1525.

Meantime in the Deccan the governors, who for a time continued to profess allegiance to the Lodi emperors, declared their independence ; about 1480 the Bahmani dynasty, resting on the support of the Turk and Afghan soldiery, ruled over nearly all the Deccan. Then this great empire in its turn broke up into the several kingdoms of Bijanagar, Bijapur, Ahmednagar, and Golconda. Of these the first is distinguished as being Hindu, not Mohammedan, and also as proving itself at once the strongest and intellectually the foremost. All of these survived until the latter end of the seventeenth century. 1398.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Portuguese had just opened up the route round South Africa to the Indian Ocean, and at once established their supremacy or empire in the eastern seas. On the Persian Gulf, at Goa on the west coast of India, and elsewhere, they fixed their fortified ports, but they made no attempt to set up a dominion on the land. The beginnings of European conquest were still two and a half centuries away in the future. But the sixteenth century witnessed another conquest of great importance. The most picturesque of

3. The Moguls: great adventurers, Babar the Turk, a descendant of Tamerlane, founded the Mongol or Mughal dynasty, best known in its Anglicised form as that of the Moguls, his mother coming from that division of the Mongolian races to which the name Mongol is specially appropriated. Expelled while a boy from his own dominions in the regions east of the Caspian sea, he found his way to Afghanistan, where he made himself king at Kabul; and set out to conquer India with a force of five and twenty thousand men, who were ready to follow their hero through fire and water. At Panipat, near Delhi—having overrun the Punjab—he smote the great army of the last of the Lodi kings of Delhi. He smote also the Hindu princes of Rajputana in a series of campaigns abounding in picturesque episodes, and swept down the plain of the Ganges, routing great hosts with, comparatively speaking, a handful of men. Five years after his first invasion he died, leaving the empire of all Hindustan to his son Humayun.

Both Mohammedans and Hindus were eager to drive out the new conquerors. Led by a Mohammedan chief, who afterwards assumed the title of Sher Shah, they expelled Humayun and his Afghans in 1540, and Sher Shah ruled with power and ability over Hindustan. But he failed to establish a strong dynasty. Sher Shah died; Humayun returned from Afghanistan and recaptured Delhi. Then he too died. But his Turk vizier Bairam completed the Mogul restoration by another victory at Panipat, won in the name of Humayun's son Akbar. For four years he ruled for the boy who had been left to his loyal guardianship; then Akbar suddenly,

though still a boy, seized the reins of government for himself. His rule, which ended with his death in 1605, was almost exactly contemporary with that of Queen Elizabeth.

A soldier and statesman, a lover of learning and philosophy, daring to recklessness, boundlessly generous, a ruler who enjoyed his own life to the uttermost, yet made the welfare of his countless subjects his supreme aim, Akbar is one of the most splendid and attractive figures in history. An avowed but very unorthodox Mohammedan, he instituted the practice of making in effect no distinction in his treatment of Hindu and Moslem. No oriental monarch could abstain from conquest, and he extended his dominion from Kabul on the north-west to the mouth of the Ganges, and over most of Central India, yet not so much as to be beyond control. Order, justice, prosperity, and comparative peace marked his long reign.

There was a falling off in the reign of his son, Jehangir, in whose day the English East India Company, chartered in 1600, obtained from a native prince its first trading station at Surat on the west coast, and the first English envoy visited the court of the Great Mogul, the most magnificent in the world. Corruption was then already setting in among the governing classes. Jehangir's son Shah Jehan was a more worthy descendant of his grandfather, and in his time the splendour of the Moguls reached its highest point. He built one of the most beautiful buildings in the world, the Taj Mahal at Agra. The principle of toleration, of treating the whole empire as one, was on the whole maintained through these reigns.

But after Shah Jehan came Aurangzib, a sort of counterpart to Philip II. of Spain; a fanatical Moslem who oppressed the Hindus and revived the old antagonism of races and religions. Half his long reign, which ended in 1707, was spent on a very incomplete subjugation of the Deccan, where all the kingdoms which had flourished for the last two centuries were overthrown. But the seeds of disintegration were sown. Sivaji, a Hindu adventurer of extraordinary ability, united the Maratha peoples occupying the hill-country of the western Deccan, and made them into a tremendous power, though

nominally recognising the sovereignty of the Mogul. Afghanistan had been lost, to Persia, in the reign of Shah Jehan. On Aurangzib's death the empire practically fell to pieces. Under the later Imperial system, it was divided into huge provinces, whose governors or viceroys made themselves virtually independent, the sovereignty of the Moguls who followed each other

Break up of the Mogul Empire. in quick succession being more shadowy than that of the German emperor over the German princes.

One viceroy ruled nominally over the whole Deccan, though the Maratha confederacy did much as they chose on the west and all through Central India. Rajput princes held sway in Rajputana; the Ganges basin was divided between two Mohammedan viceroys, and anarchy prevailed in the Punjab, through which Nadir Shah from Persia swooped down on Delhi in 1739, dealing the last fatal blow to the Moguls, though they still remained sovereigns in the theory of Indian law.

Such was the state of India in 1740: when the English were in possession of three main trading stations, at Calcutta, at Madras, and at Bombay; and the French, who had entered on the commercial competition at the initiative of Colbert, the minister of Louis XIV., had their rival stations near Calcutta and Madras, at Chandernagore and Pondicherry. The moment of the struggle for European ascendancy was at hand.



EUROPE in 1789
to illustrate Chapters XXIV to XXVI

Boundaries of the Empire and France
 Prussian Dominions
 Austrian Dominions
 Sardinian Dominions

M = MILAN, P = PARMA

CHAPTER XXIV

THE PRE-REVOLUTION ERA

AFTER the death of Louis XIV. European affairs assumed a new aspect. With a young child on the French throne and the nearest prince of the blood on the Spanish throne, there was clearly danger of a disputed succession in spite of the most formal renunciations on the part of the Spanish king. Hence the regent, whose claims stood first under International treaties, had all his interest engaged in maintaining those treaties ; as had also the Hanoverian king on the British throne, and the Whigs who had put him there. Hence for some years to come the French and British governments remained in close alliance, and in antagonism to the Bourbon monarchy in Spain, which had obvious reasons for wishing the treaty settlements to be set aside.

The King of Spain married an ambitious and energetic wife when his first wife died, and by her supreme influence the Spanish affairs were placed under the control of an energetic and ambitious minister, Alberoni. Alberoni wished to restore the power of Spain, and to recover the Italian kingdoms which were now in the possession of the emperor Charles VI. With astonishing vigour he bent his mind to restoring the Spanish navy, and to intriguing for a great combination against the now united powers of England and France, which should bring about a Stuart restoration and a revision of the Utrecht treaties. His schemes were wrecked partly by the death of Charles XII. of Sweden and partly because, in an engagement brought on without any formal

declaration of war, the British fleet completely annihilated the new Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro. At the same time Prince Eugène finished the Turkish War by the battle of Belgrade, and set the Imperial troops free to act unhampered in Italy. Alberoni was compelled to retire, and disappeared into private life. With him disappeared the short-lived energy of Spain.

But the young King of France grew up, and with his marriage to a daughter of Stanislaus, the ex-king of Poland, who had been ejected as soon as Charles XII. was unable to support him, the question of the French succession seemed likely to settle itself—to the exclusion both of the Spanish Bourbons and of the house of Orleans. Louis placed himself in the hands of Cardinal Fleury as his chief minister; Fleury in France, and Walpole, who became virtually the dictator of British policy, exerted their united influence to maintain the European peace in face of the still active antagonism between Spain and Austria.

Fleury however entered upon that secret agreement with Spain known as the Family Compact, which was directed ultimately against Austria in the first place and Great Britain in the second, with the object of making the Bourbon family paramount in Europe.

We are occasionally told that monarchs and dynasties are of very little real importance, and that history is a matter of inevitable movements and the life of peoples. **2. Dynasties and Wars.** Nevertheless, it is an unhappy truth that movements are considerably affected by wars, and that during a good many centuries dynastic questions and the personality of monarchs brought about the wars of which the results occasionally depended on the military skill of commanders who happened to be in control of the armies. In the period in which we have recently been dealing, the great war of the Spanish succession was directly dynastic. It arose because the house of Hapsburg and the house of Bourbon each desired to possess itself of Spain; England intervened, because the French king came to recognise the exiled Stuart as King of England.

We are now coming to another group of wars. To-day we can look back and see that a great contest between France

and England was what we must call inevitable, not on dynastic grounds, but because the two nations were not prepared to go shares in India and in North America. It was also extremely improbable that the long-standing dispute between England and Spain over the right to trade in South America would have got settled without war, but even here it was dynastic rather than national considerations which caused Spain and

Wars of the Eighteenth Century. France to unite against England. Yet this was a war in which the rest of Europe had no interest. The rest of Europe was fighting over the question

of the Austrian succession. In that war there was one combatant who cared nothing whatever about the succession question, but was playing entirely for the extension and security of his own dominion. But for the personality of this one man, Frederick the Great, the war would not have had the same effect on Europe; but owing to his personality Prussia emerged at the end as a first-class military power. This group of wars in its second stage, called the Seven Years' War, became resolved into a struggle for life and for empire, no longer dynastic in its motives. But even before this group of wars began there was another dynastic war of succession in which most of Europe managed to involve itself, though the stubborn determination of Walpole kept Great Britain free from it; so that she waxed in wealth, while the rest of the nations were exhausting themselves, and so was better able than any of them to endure the strain when she herself was ultimately plunged into war.

Augustus of Saxony and Poland wanted his son to succeed him on the Polish throne. His old rival, Stanislaus Leczinski,

The Polish Succession, 1733. now father-in-law of the King of France, wanted the succession for himself. The powers for their own ends took one side or the other. But for the

anxiety of the emperor Charles VI. as to the succession to his own dominions, there would probably have been no general conflagration, since Russia was quite determined that the second Augustus of Saxony should be king, and France was only half-hearted in supporting Leczinski. But Charles wished his own daughter Maria Theresa to succeed to the Austrian inheritance,

although certain portions of it descended only through heirs male, and would otherwise not have come to him at all. He issued a decree called the Pragmatic Sanction, making his daughter his heir. He persuaded most of the powers to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, and to procure this guarantee from Saxony he promised Augustus his support. France and Spain, now closely drawn together by dynastic considerations, saw their opportunity for striking at the Hapsburg domination in Italy. The result of all the fighting in this war of the Polish succession was, that Augustus got Poland, a Bourbon prince got Naples and Sicily, France by a somewhat complicated process got Lorraine, whose duke took Tuscany in compensation and married Charles vi.'s daughter; and Austria got practically the whole north of Italy including Tuscany. Also the guarantee to the Pragmatic Sanction was renewed.

We saw that the Great Elector laid the foundations of the power of Brandenburg. He had done so partly by getting into his own hands the absolute control of the heterogeneous collection of provinces which formed his dominion. His son Frederick i. obtained from the emperor the royal title as King of Prussia. Frederick's son Frederick William i. abstained from war, and was an exceedingly rigid economist; but he devoted himself especially to organising and perfecting his army. His son Frederick ii. was to make that army the most powerful in Europe in spite of its comparatively small numbers.

Birth of the Prussian Kingdom.

In 1740 Frederick William died and was succeeded by Frederick ii. In the same year Charles vi. died, the Austrian succession was claimed by his daughter Maria Theresa and her husband Francis—formerly of Lorraine, now of Tuscany. The Bavarian elector asserted his own claim, and the powers in general tore up their guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction.

3. War of the Austrian Succession.

Frederick had a claim to the duchy of Silesia on the north-east of Bohemia. He threw his troops into Silesia, and announced to Maria Theresa that he would support the Pragmatic Sanction in arms if she would hand over the province. Maria Theresa declined Frederick's offer. The battle of M \ddot{o} llwitz in the follow-

ing April demonstrated the superiority of the Prussian troops drilled and armed under the system of Frederick William. A military force of unknown capacity had thus been added to the circle of Maria Theresa's enemies, at whose front stood the Elector of Bavaria with his claim of succession both to the Austrian inheritance and to the empire. Spain supported Bavaria, but she was already plunged in a war with Great Britain over commercial quarrels in South American Seas ; while her adversary had command of the sea, and so cut her off from the rest of Europe. Great Britain was on the side of Maria Theresa, partly as a matter of good faith ; and partly because, her king being elector of Hanover, she could hardly help being on the same side as Hanover on any question in which she intervened.

But for France the war might not have become general ; but here an aggressive party became dominant which proposed to **France, Britain, and the War.** partition the Austrian inheritance on the broad principle of France taking the Netherlands, Spain and Savoy or Sardinia sharing Italy, and Bavaria taking Bohemia with the Imperial Crown. Throughout the war it was the main object of England and Hanover to separate Frederick from the alliance by persuading Maria Theresa to concede his claims in Silesia ; because King George was very much afraid that otherwise Frederick might invade Hanover. On this point, however, Maria Theresa would not give way. The one stroke of policy on her part was the winning of the enthusiastic support of Hungary, hitherto exceedingly turbulent and unmanageable, by the concession of constitutional privileges persistently demanded but till this time withheld. Nevertheless, the forces allied against the Austrian queen seemed so overwhelming that before the end of 1741 she consented to buy off Frederick by ceding Lower Silesia.

His withdrawal was brief ; for the allies captured Prague, and a palace-revolution in Russia placed on the throne the Tsarina Elizabeth, who was inclined to a French alliance. Frederick thought there was more to be gained by again joining the allies. After another victory in 1742, however, he obtained terms from the Austrian queen with which he was satisfied, and he again

retired. Meanwhile the Elector of Bavaria had become emperor as Charles VII.

It is not necessary to follow the fluctuating fortunes of the war. The really decisive event was the death of Charles VII. in 1745, which secured the Imperial succession to the husband of Maria Theresa, and in effect withdrew Bavaria from the struggle. An episode of great importance to Great Britain followed, in the enterprise of Charles Edward Stuart, who made a daring attempt to recover the British Crown. Its failure for ever removed the danger of further attempts at a Stuart restoration, and paved the way for making the union between England and Scotland a real unification of those kingdoms. The war dragged on chiefly because of Maria Theresa's vain hope of recovering Silesia. The general exhaustion brought it to an end in 1748 with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Under it practically all parties resigned all conquests, and the European territories stood again as they had stood when the war began, except that Prussia retained its hold on Silesia. Francis I. was acknowledged as emperor, and the Austrian succession in accordance with the Pragmatic Sanction was accepted.

The war of the Austrian succession had been merely preliminary to another great war. It had sharpened the hostility of English and French colonists in America and of English and French in India. It had weakened the longstanding alliance of Great Britain with Austria, and had left Maria Theresa still determined to take vengeance on Prussia, and to recover Silesia; while Frederick's achievements had raised him to a position alarming to most of the other princes of Germany. Another war between Austria and Prussia and between France and Great Britain was inevitable, but how the opposing forces might combine was not equally clear.

For a hundred years past English colonies had been developing in North America from Florida on the south up to the St. Lawrence. France, by the treaty of Utrecht, had ceded Acadia, but had been developing her own colony of Canada north of the St. Lawrence; and she had planted another colony south-west of the English in Louisiana.

On the strength of this and of her explorations she claimed the whole basin of the Mississippi and the Ohio rivers, as well as the St. Lawrence; a claim which, if conceded, would have entirely precluded the expansion of the British westwards. On the other hand British expansion would have precluded any French expansion south of the St. Lawrence, and there was no compromising the difficulty.

In India neither French nor English were territorial powers, but they had nearly the whole of the trade between them, and each wanted to eject the other. The French were **And in India.** the first to perceive that with the Mogul Empire tumbling to pieces it would not be difficult for a European power which had no rival to acquire an ascendancy. When the war of the Austrian succession broke out the French opened an attack on the British. The European war was stopped by the peace, but it was effectively continued in India by the two parties taking sides in dynastic struggles among the native princes. In the years which immediately follow the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the success which had formerly lain rather with the French passed to the British, mainly owing to the genius of Robert Clive.

The struggle was in fact confined to the southern part of India, the home governments of Great Britain and France taking no part. It is absolutely clear that whenever the home governments should take an active part, the victory would go to the one which, holding command of the sea, should **British Dominion in India.** be able to supply reinforcements. As soon as the two nations were at war again it became abundantly clear that the British had that power and were absolutely certain to win. Again it lay with Robert Clive to demonstrate that if the French were once out of the way the British could make themselves the paramount power in India. This was proved by a punitive expedition undertaken by Clive in 1757 against the Nawab of Bengal, on account of a horrible outrage committed upon the small British community at Calcutta. Clive with some three thousand men routed an army nearly twenty times as large. Bengal acknowledged him as its master, the British East India Company at once became a great territorial

power, and the foundations of British supremacy were securely laid. It only remained to administer the *coup de grâce* to the French rivalry at the battle of Wandewash in 1760.

Nearly four years before Wandewash the great Seven Years' War had broken out in Europe. While British and French colonists were quarrelling in America, Maria Theresa's minister Kaunitz was scheming for a coalition against Frederick of Prussia. Great Britain had no hostility towards Austria; but though her King George II. might as Elector of Hanover be inclined to support the

**The Powers
combine for
War.**

Imperial house against his dangerous Prussian neighbour, that was rather a reason for Great Britain refusing to join an anti-Prussian combination. Nothing was more certain to raise an outcry in England than a suspicion that the British nation was being dragged into a war in the interests of Hanover. Kaunitz was secure of the alliance of Saxony lying on the south of the Prussian kingdom; and also of Russia, whose Tsarina Elizabeth had taken mortal offence at sundry sarcasms which the Prussian king had uttered about her. But this did not satisfy Kaunitz, who wanted to secure French support; and for the recovery of Silesia he was willing to make concessions to France. Louis xv. was completely under the influence of Madame de Pompadour, whom Frederick had offended as he had Elizabeth of Russia. Spain was now under a peaceful sovereign Ferdinand vi., and would not be drawn into any warlike complications. Thus the circumstances drew the two necessarily hostile powers of Great Britain and France into alliance with Prussia and Austria respectively; reversing the old European position, in which the Bourbons had always been opposed to the Hapsburgs and Great Britain had been habitually on the side of the Hapsburgs.

In the war which followed, breaking out in 1756, Great Britain after the first year devoted herself almost entirely to the maritime and colonial war with France. She supplied contingents to the forces which held Hanover against French invasion, but otherwise she abstained almost entirely from military operations, while she poured into the coffers of the Prussian king the subsidies which enabled him to maintain his resistance to the great circle of his foes.

**5. The Seven
Years' War.**

France on the other hand expended her energies on maintaining great armies in the field which exhausted her powers. The rivalry between France and Great Britain was entirely one for empire over-seas, and inevitably the decisive factor therein was supremacy on the sea. This was fully realised by the great minister William Pitt, while it was ignored by King Louis. But though Great Britain fought France on the seas, she rendered great service to Frederick in his desperate struggle, not only by supplying him with funds but also by keeping inactive, though in arms, French troops which had to be held in readiness to face possible invasion on the French coast.

In fact Great Britain and France began fighting on their own account before the Continental War opened. There had been **1756, War begins.** a considerable display of naval preparations, extremely alarming to the British, at Brest and Dunkirk; but it was from Toulon that the French fleet suddenly sailed for Minorca, which, like Gibraltar, had been a British possession since the treaty of Utrecht. The English Admiral Byng was shot for failing to relieve Minorca, which surrendered almost immediately; after which, war was openly declared. The event hastened the other negotiations which were still going on. Frederick received information that the dismemberment of Prussia was designed. He resolved to strike first, and for strategic reasons chose Saxony, lying between Prussia and Bohemia, as the first object of attack. He marched upon Dresden, where he obtained documentary proofs of the conspiracy against Prussia, which he published. But Saxony had to be thoroughly neutralised before he could venture on the advance into Bohemia which was his main object, and the Saxons resisted long enough to compel him to defer the invasion till next year.

In 1757 the war was in full swing. Hanover would have liked to stand neutral, but was compelled to join Frederick. **The War in 1757.** The king had to maintain himself in the territory comprising Hanover, Prussia with Silesia, and Saxony. From the north-east he was threatened by Russia, from the south by Austria, and along the whole line of the west by France. Troops, for the most part Hanoverian and

British, were in charge of the Hanoverian frontier; the rest Frederick had to look after for himself.

The year brought violent alternations of fortune. Frederick, swiftest and most sudden of generals, dashed from Saxony upon Prague and won a great victory; but not long afterwards, excessive confidence led him to disaster at Kölin, and he had to beat a retreat from Bohemia with shattered forces. The Duke of Cumberland, in command of the army in Hanover, was driven by a French army northwards to Klosterseven, where he was compelled to capitulate under a convention which the indignant British government refused to ratify. But Frederick recovered himself, and at Rosbach inflicted a great defeat on a second French army which was advancing on Saxony. Thence he dashed to the opposite side of the war area, and shattered at Leuthen an Austrian army engaged in subjugating Silesia.

The defeat at Rosbach prevented the French from taking advantage of their success in Hanover, where the British and Hanoverian troops were placed under the command of the skilful Ferdinand of Brunswick, and thenceforth proved themselves fully able to cope with all the forces that were sent against them. But over the whole of the rest of the field, though Frederick might win victories, he could only save himself from destruction by the rapidity of his movements. When he had smitten one army, no long time ever elapsed before he had to dash away with the same troops to meet another army on another quarter. Thus in the next year 1758, while Ferdinand drove the French over the Rhine, Frederick had to drive back the advancing Russians at Zorndorf, and then to clear Austrian armies out of both Silesia and Saxony. In the year following he could not prevent the Austrians from capturing the Saxon capital, Dresden, and was severely defeated by the Russians at Kunersdorf; although there was compensation in a great victory won by Ferdinand over the French at Minden.

For one, however, of his opponents this year was extremely disastrous. The British general Wolfe succeeded in capturing

Quebec, which was the key to the French dominions in America ; and the French fleet was annihilated by the English admirals

French Disasters. Boscawen and Hawke off Lagos on the Portuguese coast and at Quiberon Bay on the coast of Brittany.

In the first month of the next year France suffered the decisive defeat of Wandewash in India. Nevertheless, though France was so far paralysed, it was as much as Frederick could do to save himself from complete destruction during 1760, his operations ending with the battle of Torgau, which left him still in occupation of the greater part of Silesia and Saxony.

All the combatants were becoming exhausted except Great Britain, whose fleets were completely irresistible. France

The War wears out. succeeded in dragging a new King of Spain, Charles III., into the war, with no other result

than to provide more prey for the British. But Pitt's supremacy in England was over ; and the ministry, appalled by the huge war expenditure, desired nothing so much as to make peace even at the price of deserting its Prussian ally. Relief came to Frederick when his enemy the Tsarina died, and his enthusiastic admirer Peter ascended the Russian throne. Six months later Peter was deposed by his wife Catharine, who assumed the government and ruled with vigour, but refused to take any further part in the Seven Years' War. Prussia and Austria were left both of them without an effective ally ; and Frederick, exhausted as he was, could still hold his own

The Peace, 1763. against a single opponent. The war was brought finally to an end at the beginning of 1763 by the treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg.

The total results of the war were that France was shut out of America and India ; and except for a few islands, Great Britain, Spain, Holland and Portugal were the only colonial powers. There were no territorial changes in Europe, but Frederick had definitely raised Prussia to a position of equality among the powers with France and Austria. But Frederick was left bitterly hostile to England on account of her desertion of him at the close of the war ; while France was thirsting for an opportunity to humiliate the island power which had humbled her, and to win back what she had lost.

For a considerable interval Europe had rest from wars on any large scale. But during the next twenty years Great Britain became involved in a quarrel which brought about an event of first-rate importance in the world's history, the birth of the independent nation called the United States of America. The British colonies had not been treated like those of Spain, as estates of the Crown. They had been left for the most part to manage their own affairs, though with more interference from their governors, whom they did not choose for themselves, than the Crown was able to exercise in England. But they had to submit to trade regulations imposed by the English and later by the British parliament, which benefited the Mother Country at the expense of the colonies. These they had endured, not without protest and occasionally even active resistance; partly because the authorities winked at evasions, and partly because of the protection afforded to them against their French rivals by British forces. This protection they could not afford to dispense with so long as the French in Canada could appeal to France for support against them.

6. American
Independence.

The
Colonial
System.

But now there was nothing to fear from the French nation, and the French colonists in Canada had become British subjects by the treaty of Paris. Also the British government, anxious to retrench and to make up for the great expenditure on the war, demanded a very strict enforcement of the irritating trade regulations. This might have been endured, since the imposition of customs for the regulation of trade in the interests of British commerce had always been recognised as something quite different from taxation of which the object was to raise revenue. But when the British government proceeded to impose fresh taxes of a trivial but irritating character, with the avowed object not of regulating trade but of raising revenue, the colonists caught at the opportunity of protesting that the fundamental principle of the British Constitution was set at nought. For the Declaration of Right, the instrument under which the succession to the English Crown had been changed in 1688,

The
Quarrel,
1765.

laid it down as an essential principle of liberty that no tax may be imposed on the people without the formal assent of their representatives. Yet here was the British parliament imposing taxes on the colonists, who had no representatives to give or refuse assent. The colonists professed their willingness to pay what they themselves considered a fair share of the expenses of a war entered upon largely on their behalf. The alternative of giving them representation on the British parliament was in those days obviously impracticable though it was gravely put forward. But the British governments, with one short-lived exception, would not trust the colonists to tax themselves, and insisted on the technical right left them by the colonial charters to legislate for and to tax the **American colonies at their own discretion. The colonies resisted and took up arms; first of all only in defence of what they regarded as their rights, and then—when their claims continued to be disregarded—in order to win complete independence.**

From the time of the fall of William Pitt, the British administration neglected the organisation of the navy, which had **French attained to such supreme efficiency under him. Intervention.** France, on the other hand, had been steadily endeavouring to raise the standard of her own navy. As soon as it appeared that the American colonists had a chance of making head successfully against the Mother Country, France took up arms in their support, presently drawing Spain after her. Great Britain found herself fighting for life. Even the sovereignty of the seas seemed about to be torn from her, until the French fleet in the West Indies was decisively shattered by Rodney, and the British maritime supremacy was restored. But by this time all hope of bringing the colonies under subjection had disappeared, and the war was closed by a **The United States, 1783.** peace which recognised the Independence of the United States. The new nation chose for its first president George Washington, the man to whose integrity, resolution, patience and skill she had chiefly owed her success in the contest.

The struggle had hardly touched Canada, where the French

population, accustomed to being ruled, not to ruling themselves, had no sympathy with the aspirations of the other colonies with their English traditions. There the British government had deliberately aimed at conciliating **Canada.** its French subjects and respecting their traditions and prejudices. Canada became a refuge for many of the families of the south, who had remained loyal to the British Crown in the face of bitter hostility, and preferred remaining under the British Crown to becoming citizens of the new American Republic.

In India the same period saw the British rule in Bengal, and the British ascendancy among the native powers thoroughly established. The Mogul, still nominally the legal sovereign and source of authority all over **7. India.** India, recognised the East India Company as being officially the government in Bengal. The British Governor, **Warren** Warren Hastings, in spite of extraordinary diffi- **Hastings.** culties created by the blunders of subordinates and the unscrupulous opposition of colleagues, as well as the hostile ambitions of native potentates and rivals, successfully maintained and strengthened the British position; though sometimes adopting methods which could only be excused on the ground that without them the British would have been driven out of India. Immediately after the close of the American War of Independence, the British government, headed by the younger William Pitt, established that system of a joint control of the Indian dominion by the East India Com- **The** **Position in** **India, 1784.** pany and by ministers of the Crown which lasted until 1858. But it must be very clearly grasped that as yet the actual British territory consisted of little more than the great province of Bengal on the Lower Ganges, and the two small districts round Madras and Bombay; although the considerable province of Arcot, in which Madras was situated, was practically under their control. Over the great native state into which nine-tenths of India was divided, they exercised only the influence attaching to what every one felt to be the strongest military power. The British and the native princes alike still professed to acknowledge the supreme

sovereignty vested in the Mogul, the powerless ruler who resided at Delhi.

A new nation was created in America, but an old nation was on the verge of disappearing from Europe. We have seen

8. Poland. Poland several times brought into the complications of Western Europe; not intervening as an active power on its own initiative, but somehow providing cause of dispute for others. Poland's own interests lay eastward, where she held territories once claimed as Russian, or coveted by the Turk; and on the Baltic, where the Polish provinces intervened between Brandenburg and Prussia proper. This division of the Prussian king's territories was a grievous source of weakness to him, and he greatly coveted this province of West Prussia as it was called just as he had coveted Silesia. But Frederick was not prepared to expose himself to a general attack by any personal act of aggression.

Poland itself was a kingdom in which the king had very little power, and each of the nobles was in effect under no control. Under its constitution Poland could hardly take united action unless the nobles were unanimous, and practically they were never unanimous. It was in no one's interest except that of the Poles that Poland should be strong, and the Poles themselves, or the nobles, preferred personal independence to national strength.

Most of the powers took a certain interest in the succession to the Polish Crown. It was evident that there would soon be an election when Augustus of Saxony should die.

First Partition. Prussia and Russia were both anxious to stop the continuity of the Saxon line, which was favoured by both France and Austria. Prussia was anxious to detach Austria from the French Alliance, so was Catharine of Russia. The emperor Francis died, and his son Joseph was elected emperor while Maria Theresa still remained queen of the combined Austrian kingdoms. Joseph was a great admirer of his mother's old enemy Frederick. So it became comparatively easy for Frederick to propound a scheme under which he was to get West Prussia, thus making his Baltic territories continuous; Austria was to have Poland's southern border province, and

Russia was to have the east province. The kingdom of Poland, thus reduced, would be practically subservient to Russia. The scheme was duly carried out in 1772, when Great Britain was busy with her American quarrel, and France could not afford to intervene single-handed. Twenty-one years later the same three powers again parcelled out what was left of Poland among themselves.

**Second and
Third
Partitions.**

France also during these years acquired the Island of Corsica, which had long been subject to the Italian republic of Genoa. The Corsicans were in constant revolt, and the patriots offered the country to Great Britain. Great Britain declined the offer, and France took over Corsica by an arrangement with the Genoese. Thus it was the merest accident that Napoleon Buonaparte happened to be born a French instead of a British subject.

Corsica.

Throughout this period men's minds were actively engaged on political speculation ; on theorising about ideal forms of government, the rights of man, the duties of rulers to their subjects and of subjects to their rulers. Many of them held up to admiration the British government, which appeared to combine the advantages of monarchical government, government by an aristocracy composed of the most competent members of the community, and government by the will of the people. On the other hand there were the theorists, who placed their political faith in benevolent despotism ; government by the will of a single wise ruler directed to the common welfare of his subjects. The popular philosophy, however, claimed that all government had its source and its justification only in the will of the people ; without offering any clear answer to the question how that will was to be ascertained, or to the kindred question, whether the will of a simple numerical majority was the same thing as the will of the people. As a matter of fact every important government in Europe was more or less despotic, and every king was trying to make himself an absolute despot ; in some cases, such as that of Frederick the Great, with the approval of the mass of their subjects ; while others, such as the Emperor Joseph, had the very best intentions, but found their

**9. The
Approach of
Revolution.**

**Despotisms
and the
Rights of
Man.**

subjects vigorously opposed to them. In short there was a kind of intellectual ferment such as was in progress in the early years of the sixteenth century; but at that time it had tended to centre on religion, whereas now it was centred on the principles of government.

The American revolt excited much enthusiasm among the theoretical advocates of the Rights of Man, and the exceedingly homely envoys from America were received with enthusiasm in the glittering salons of Paris; but in France itself the Rights of Man were to receive a new and terrible interpretation.

The French king, Louis XVI., like the Austrian emperor Joseph, was a person with excellent intentions. Joseph was also a man full of great ideas, which he strove energetically to carry out in the face of an opposition which was too powerful for him. Louis had no ideas, and shifted from one incompetent adviser to another with a vague hope that some good might result. But the government of the country had for long been conducted for the benefit of one section of the community at the expense of the rest. The nobles were practically free from taxation, of which the burden fell on the middle classes, and with crushing severity on the peasantry. There was an appalling waste in the expenditure; but even with the most rigid economy, a readjustment of burdens, taxing the rich as well as the poor, was absolutely necessary to relieve the poor from the intolerable strain. The whole system was thoroughly rotten, and the privileged classes were strong enough to prevent any reforms which touched their own immunities. At length the clamour for some reconstruction became so formidable that a proposal was adopted for summoning the States General or assembly of the three estates of the realm—the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Commons—which had never been called together during the last hundred and seventy years.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK VII., 1660 TO 1789

GUIDING DATES

Louis XIV. assumes control	1661	Fall of Marlborough	. . . 1711
Independence of Portugal	. 1665	Treaty of Utrecht	. . . 1713
Louis attacks Holland	. 1672	Hanoverian succession in	
William III. of Orange, Stadt-		Britain	. . . . . 1714
holder	. . . . . 1672	Death of Louis XIV.	. . . 1715
Treaty of Nimeguen	. . . 1678	Battle of Belgrade	. . . 1717
Accession of Peter the Great	1682	Turkish aggression ends at	
Turks besiege Vienna:		Treaty of Passarowitz	. 1718
Sobieski	. . . . . 1683	Fall of Alberoni	. . . 1719
Revocation of Edict of		Pragmatic Sanction issued	. 1720
Nantes	. . . . . 1685	Walpole's ascendancy	. 1721-42
Louis attacks the Palatinate	1688	Fleury's ascendancy	. 1726-43
William III. of Orange, King		Bourbon Family Com-	
of England	. . . . . 1689	pact	. . . . . } 1733-35
Battle of La Hogue	. . . 1692	War of Polish Succes-	
Treaty of Ryswick	. . . . . } 1697	sion }
Accession of Charles XII.		War between Great Britain	
(Sweden)	. . . . . } 1697	and Spain	. . . . . 1739
Augustus of Saxony, King		Frederick II. King of	
of Poland	. . . . . }	Prussia	. . . . . } 1740
Wars of Charles XII. begin	. 1700	War of Austrian succes-	
Aurangzib	. . . . . 1658-1707	sion begins }
Prussia becomes a king-		French and British at war	
dom	. . . . . } 1701	in India	. . . . . 1744
The Grand Alliance	. . . . . }	Francis I. emperor	. . . 1745
War of Spanish succession		End of Jacobitism	. . . 1746
begins	. . . . . 1702	Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle	. 1748
Battle of Blenheim	. . . 1704	Seven Years' War begins	. 1756
England and Scotland united		Clive's conquest of Bengal	
as Great Britain	. . . 1707	Frederick II. wins Rosbach	. 1757
Pultawa : and Malplaquet	. 1709	and Leuthen }

British victories of Qui- beron and Quebec 1759	American War of Independ- ence begins 1775
French crushed in India 1760	Peace of Versailles 1783
Peace of Paris and Huberts- burg 1763	Pitt's India Act 1784
First Partition of Poland 1772	Britain annexes Australia
Accession of Louis XVI. 1774	The States General sum- moned } 1788

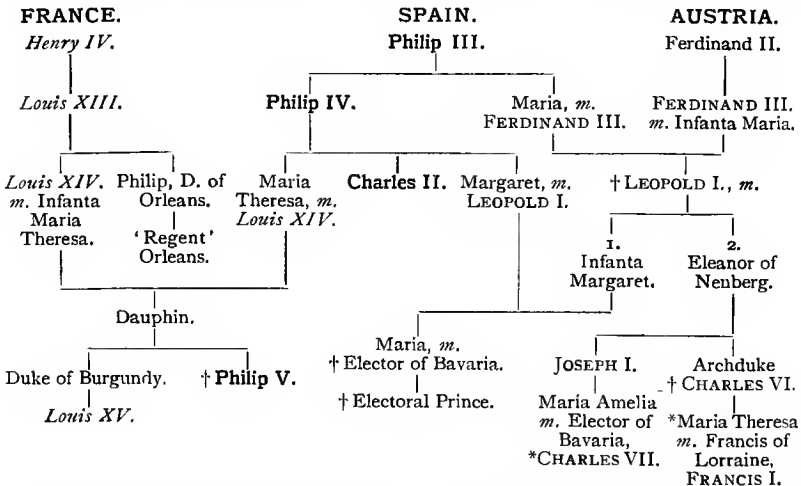
LEADING NAMES

Louis XIV.—Charles II. of England—William III. of Orange—Colbert—Louvois—Turenne—John Sobieski—Prince Eugène—Marlborough—Peter the Great—Charles XII.—Regent Orleans—Walpole—Fleury—Alberoni—Frederick William I.—Frederick the Great—Charles VI.—Maria Theresa—Emperor Francis I.—Tsarina Elizabeth—Tsarina Catharine—William Pitt, Earl of Chatham—Robert Clive—George Washington—Warren Hastings—Emperor Joseph II.—George III.—William Pitt the Younger.

NOTES

THE SPANISH AND AUSTRIAN SUCCESSIONS, 1700 AND 1740.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE, SHOWING CLAIMANTS TO PORTIONS OF THE SPANISH DOMINION, 1699-1701, AND OF THE AUSTRIAN DOMINION, 1740.



Emperors printed in capitals. Kings of France printed in italics. Kings of Spain printed in dark type.
† Claimants in war of Spanish Succession. * Claimants in war of Austrian Succession.

Characteristics of the Age. The age recorded in Book VI. might be described as the era of zeal, and especially of religious zeal. The strife of Protestantism and Romanism was to a large extent one of passionate beliefs, in which each side honestly held that it was fighting for God against the Devil. With a slight difference the contest between Royalists and Puritans in England and Scotland was also a conflict of ideals. But the next age dealt with in the book just concluded was a critical age, which discouraged zeal for the most part, and was wanting in ideals. It subordinated emotion and sentiment to reason and practical convenience. Its typical intellectual product was the Frenchman Voltaire. And just as the age was one of reaction against the emotional age which preceded it, so it led up to the counter-reaction, which was finding expression before the era closed in the French Swiss Rousseau, and took material shape in the French Revolution.

War and Religion. In our last period the root-cause of most of the wars which occurred is to be found in the antagonism of religions. But in the wars of Louis XIV. we find Protestant and Catholic powers ranged side by side in resistance to the aggression of Louis XIV., whose motive presents itself as that of aggrandising himself and his dynasty. Religion, as a motive, occupies only a very minor place, but it is still revealed as present chiefly in the relations between France, England, and Holland. The security of a Protestant succession at all costs drove England to make common cause with Holland, both when William III. was king and in the war of the Spanish succession. Yet the Treaty of Utrecht shows that colonial rivalry is already taking the first place as the subject of contention between Britain and France; and in the war of the Austrian succession, and the Seven Years' War, as well as in the war of American Independence, colonial questions entirely overshadow all others, so far as concerns Britain.

North American Races. The 'Red Indians' of North America never reached a stage of civilisation in which they could be said to have formed states; they had no towns. They seem to have been developing agricultural settlements when English colonisation began, but resumed migratory habits. Their tribes formed leagues or federations, and made fierce onslaughts on the European settlers from time to time; a northern group known as the 'Five Nations' were particularly active and dangerous. Wars with them, however, were always in the nature of raids and counter-raids; they never adapted themselves to civilised life, but remained nomads and hunters.

BOOK VIII
THE EUROPEAN CONVULSION

CHAPTER XXV

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

THE French States-General met in May 1789. In April 1792 France declared war against Austria; and from that time until the midsummer of 1815 she was always at war with **1. The Era of Convulsion.** one power and often with many, except for fourteen months during 1802-3, and for twelve months in 1814-15. Throughout this period of twenty-six years, French affairs overshadow those of the rest of Europe; they are the pivot on which nearly all European questions turn. We shall therefore open this chapter with some preliminary explanations, chiefly as to extraneous matters, in order to avoid interrupting the course of the narrative.

In Prussia Frederick the Great had already been succeeded by his nephew Frederick William II., a prince lacking both in energy and in ability, who reigned till 1797. In **The European Powers.** Russia, Catharine II. was still Tsarina, her reign lasting till the end of 1795. Her interests were concerned mainly with Turkey and Poland, and her proceedings necessarily affected both Prussia and Austria and the mutual relations of those powers. Joseph II. was still emperor. Early in 1790 he was succeeded by his very able brother Leopold II.; but Leopold reigned for barely two years, and his successor Francis II. was not of the calibre to make an efficient leader for Europe. He reigned throughout the period. In England George III. was king. The British Empire had been torn in two, and one portion of it had become the American nation in 1783; but from that time till the end of the century, and in

effect for longer, the man who controlled the destinies of Great Britain was the second William Pitt. Great Britain was the last of the great states to be drawn into the struggle with France; but from the beginning of 1793 she was the only one which to the very end was persistently dominated by the determination to resist French aggression at all costs. Almost down to that date there was a strong inclination in England to regard the French Revolution with sympathy; after it the conviction prevailed that France was once again, as in the days of Louis XIV., seeking to become not the liberator but the dictator of Europe. Moreover, the Reign of Terror in France produced in England as elsewhere a strong reaction against all previous tendencies to increase the political power of the populace.

The States General met, having before it the immense task of reorganising French finances, dealing with the oppressive privileges of the nobles, the clergy, and the court, and reconstructing the Constitution on lines recognising the popular right to a share in political power. The three estates were the noblesse, the clergy, and the commons. A battle at once began for the predominance of the third estate, which turned on the principle that the three estates should vote as one body, since otherwise the two privileged bodies would outvote the third unprivileged body.

The States General, 1789. The third estate, led by Mirabeau, himself a scion of the nobility, carried the day. But it seemed that the court and the privileged orders meant to override what had now been converted into the 'National Assembly.' The people of Paris enrolled themselves in the force which became the National Guard; the soldiers sided with the people; amid general acclamation, the Bastille, the fortress prison representative of arbitrary rule, was stormed and overthrown. The populace of Paris were masters of the situation.

The court party were cowed; many of them took flight from the country. Most of the sincere reformers had not yet realised how weak were the forces left to control the passions of the mob if they were once fairly roused, though the risings of the peasantry against the 'seigneurs,' over half France, might have given warning. The

The End of Feudalism.

National Assembly attacked what seemed to be the root-cause of the general grievances; and within a month of the fall of the Bastille, it had practically wiped out all the obnoxious privileges of noblesse and clergy. But the whole fabric of the social order in France was based on the existence of these privileges; it was necessary to replace them by some system on which a new social order could rest. In England, something like popular government had gradually grown up, but at every stage the reformers had always claimed and felt that they were not introducing innovations but merely safeguarding the fundamental principles of the Constitution. In France, it was the fundamental principles that were shattered, and new fundamental principles had to be found and substituted for them. Intent on its high purpose, the Assembly set about constructing a new constitution, for which reason it was now entitled the 'Constituent' Assembly.

**The First
Constitution,
1790.**

A constitution was arrived at which was entirely incapable of working. A strong central government was a sheer necessity in a state where the old order was broken up, as Oliver Cromwell had found in England; but anything creating a strong central government in France was looked on as a return to despotism. The one man who might conceivably have saved France, Mirabeau, died. The king made the disastrous blunder of attempting to fly from the country—and failing; while the émigrés, those of the court party who had fled, were clamouring to persuade foreign powers to intervene and restore the French monarchy.

A reconciliation was effected however. The king remained king, accepting the new constitution, and the governing body was a new 'Legislative' Assembly of which no one who had sat in the National Assembly was allowed to be a member. The immense majority of them were practically republicans, divided into two parties known as the Girondins and the Jacobins or the 'Mountain. The real leaders of the latter, Danton, Robespierre, and Marat were actually not members of the Assembly at all.

**The
Legislative
Assembly,
1791.**

The Emperor Leopold and the King of Prussia had adopted an attitude which in France was regarded as insolently aggressive;

so much so that the Assembly compelled the king to declare war upon Austria at the very moment when Leopold died.

France declares War, 1792. France at the same time became possessed with the theory of Louis XIV., that she had a right to her 'Natural' boundaries—those which would give her

a geographically complete territory, girdled on two sides by the sea, on the south by the sea and the Pyrenees, and on the east by the Alps and the River Rhine. This involved the appropriation of some German territory, and of the Austrian Netherlands or Belgium, which in character and language were French rather than Austrian. Thus France had two distinct motives for war, one aggressive, the other patriotically defiant of foreign interference in French affairs. To this was presently added a third, that of liberating the 'peoples' of Europe from 'slavery' to monarchs, for which subjection to the 'liberty'-loving French Republic was to be substituted.

Patriots crowded to the armies which hastened to the frontiers. Louis really hoped for the restoration of his own dignities by the foreign intervention which he was defying. The Jacobins captured the Paris government or 'Commune' and the persons of the whole royal family, while the Legislative Assembly showed that it had no real control. The prisons were already crowded with 'suspects,' persons who were supposed to be connected with the émigrés and plotters for an aristocratic restoration: an immense number more were suddenly seized and massacred (September 1792), largely owing to panic over the advance of the Prussian and Austrian forces on the frontier, an advance which was checked almost at the same moment. Also at the same moment the Legislative Assembly was dissolved and replaced by a new National Convention, dominated by extremists.

In the course of the next four months the revolution was completed. The first act of the Convention was to declare the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic. In all directions the armies of the

The Head of a King, Jan. 1793.

republic were successful, in Savoy, on the Rhine, and in Belgium. The Convention proclaimed that all the territories occupied by French troops were liberated from

their masters and under French protection. Finally it brought the unfortunate Louis XVI. to trial, and condemned him to death. His head fell under the guillotine, and France was immediately at war with all the kings of Europe.

Now Prussia and Austria were both quite as much taken up with the last partition of Poland which Catharine of Russia had just arranged as with the French war. It was true that the French generals, Dumouriez and others, had been remarkably successful; but it was not to be imagined that a country in the throes of a revolution, emptied of the families which had led it for generations, with no one of experience to guide it, and in a state of financial chaos, could possibly offer a prolonged resistance to the arms of united Europe; so united Europe only gave half its attention to France. England took the seas, but her army had not won distinction in America, and her troops were now placed under the command of the king's second son the Duke of York, who was an entirely inefficient general. The republic, on the other hand, possessed in Carnot a man endowed with a genius for military organisation and an infallible skill in the selection of officers, while he was entirely unhampered by respect for tradition in the one case and for rank or family in the other. Ability was the one condition without which no one could hope to obtain a command, success the one condition of retaining it. Failure was as likely as not to lead the way to the guillotine—failure, or the suspicion of aristocratic proclivities. And the men were consumed with a fervour of patriotism which had the same effect on their courage as the religious fanaticism of the Moslem. The French waged war as if they had been a united people under a stable government, partly at least because on the question of the war they really were united; and Carnot's military administration was not interfered with.

In the months immediately following the death of King Louis, nothing seemed so likely as that the different groups would devour each other. In the rivalry between the Girondins, who had now become the party of moderation, and the Jacobins, the latter were victorious, drove the Girondins out of office, and sent many of them to the

3. The
Terror.

France
against the
Monarchies.

The
Mountain.

guillotine. The peasants of La Vendée revolted, in the cause of Church and king. Marat, the most bloodthirsty of the 'Mountain,' was assassinated by Charlotte Corday. The Royalists at Toulon held the citadel and port under the protection of the guns of a British fleet. But the Jacobins held the government at Paris; the administration was entirely controlled by a small body called the Committee of Public Safety, on which were conferred powers more absolute than those of any dictator. Their commissioners in every district and in every camp ruled despotically; men and women were flung into prison in thousands as 'suspects,' and murdered in hundreds by their tribunals as aristocrats. At one stage Paris provided some fifty daily victims to the guillotine for several weeks. Appalling profanities and obscenities were perpetrated in the name of the 'Goddess of Reason' till even Paris sickened; and Robespierre turned on the most disgusting of his allies, only to follow up their destruction by that of Danton who had become the chief of the moderate party now called the Indulgents. But the terror had reached a pitch at which no man felt his head secure.

Fall of Robespierre, 1794. Indulgents and Terrorists united to overthrow Robespierre, who followed his own victims to the guillotine, just eighteen months after Louis had been slain. The country was sated with the horrors on which it had supped so long, and the Thermidorean reaction (so called from the name of the month 'Thermidor' in which it took place, the republic having reconstructed the calendar) brought in an administration which put an end to the Reign of Terror.

Meanwhile the allies had been conducting the war without energy; the Rhine provinces and Belgium were practically in the hands of the French, who owed the recovery of Toulon also to the skill of the young artillery officer Napoleon Buonaparte. Their troops crossed the Pyrenees and invaded Spain. The one notable success of the allies was in a sea-fight off Ushant, won on June 1st (1794) by Lord Howe. In the winter the French overran Holland, which shortly transformed itself into the Batavian Republic; the Stadtholder William of Orange fled to England, to which

power he transferred the Dutch Colony at the Cape of Good Hope. In 1795 the three eastern powers made a further partition of Poland, and both Prussia and Spain retired from the French war.

The French government which assumed control in July 1794 and overthrew Robespierre set about the usual business of inventing a new constitution. The administration was to be in the hands of a Directory of five; two Assemblies were to have charge of legislation. Two-thirds of the members of the first Assemblies were to be taken from among the members of the National Convention. When the time arrived for the elections, Paris rose in insurrection; the head of the government, Barras, entrusted the task of dealing with the mob to Buonaparte, though he was only six-and-twenty. Buonaparte brought artillery to bear, and the insurrection was suppressed. Thus the Directory was established.

Henceforth Buonapartè or Bonaparte—as he presently spelt his name—is the central figure; but until 1799 he is in theory merely one of the generals of the Republic. In fact, he had already made up his mind to play the part of Julius Cæsar. The plan of campaign which he submitted to Carnot procured him the command of the armies of the Republic in Italy, which was selected as one area of the war with Austria. Two other armies were to advance on Vienna through Germany.

In Italy, Austria had for her ally the King of Sardinia and his subjects in Piedmont. Bonaparte joined the French forces in April and opened one of the most brilliant and startling campaigns on record; making it his great principle to keep the enemy split up so that he could destroy them in detachments. This he accomplished by the rapidity and audacity of his movements. Thus he shattered their centre at Montenotte. The Austrian wing retired on the Po, the Piedmontese on Turin, but the King of Sardinia saw that Piedmont was thus practically lost and promptly made his own peace. Bonaparte turned on the Austrians, routed them at the Bridge of Lodi, and took posses-

**The
Directory,
1795-99.**

Bonaparte.

**The
Italian
Campaign,
1796.**

sion of Milan. Naples was also supposed to be an ally of Austria, but at once followed the example of Sardinia. Bonaparte conducted his operations with very little regard for the instructions he received from Paris, and while the Austrians were shut up in Mantua he asserted the French supremacy over North Italy, levying contributions and taking toll of the art-treasures of every city, and making his own arrangements. Austrian reinforcements poured into Italy from the Tyrol, but again Bonaparte shattered them while they were in separate divisions. More reinforcements came at the end of the year ; they met with the same fate at the battles of Arcola and Rivoli. Mantua was forced to surrender, the

1797. pope had to accede to the treaty of Tolentino, by which he ceded some of the papal states already occupied by French troops, and the ' Cispadane Republic ' was established in North Italy. Meanwhile the other campaign in Germany had been foiled ; before it was possible for another general to advance and deprive him of his laurels, Bonaparte was on his way to Austria ; and at Leoben, Austrian commissioners signed a treaty which was confirmed with some alterations later in the year at Campo Formio. Austria ceded Belgium and Lombardy, but received a slice of Venetian territory, for which Bonaparte found a sufficient excuse in an émeute which had taken place in Venice, though that power was nominally neutral.

In the meantime, the British command of the sea had been threatened by Spain and Holland joining France ; but the Spanish fleet was shattered by Admiral Jervis off Cape St. Vincent in February, and the Dutch by Admiral Duncan at Camperdown in October. In Paris, political plots and counterplots drove Carnot into exile and removed two of the generals who might have been Bonaparte's rivals, while, unhappily for France, the ablest of them all and infinitely the noblest, Hoche, also died. When Bonaparte returned to Paris after Campo Formio, it was obvious that he was completely master of the situation. But the hour for Bonaparte's Scheme. which he was waiting had not yet arrived. He had conceived the idea of capturing Egypt and Syria, and with

Asia as his base conquering both Europe and India. He had already learnt to regard Great Britain as the one serious obstacle to his tremendous ambitions, which were hidden from the Directory; they were well enough pleased by any plan which would keep their terrible general as far as possible from France.

Great preparations were made, ostensibly for an invasion of England; but when the French fleet snatched an opportunity for sailing out of Toulon with Bonaparte on board, while the British squadron under Nelson's command was temporarily disabled by weather, its objective was not England but Egypt. Nelson was promptly in hot pursuit, but passed the French in a fog and found no one at Alexandria. When the game of hide-and-seek was ended, and he caught and annihilated the French fleet at the battle of the Nile, or Aboukir Bay (Aug. 1st), Bonaparte and his army had already landed and were engaged in making themselves masters of Egypt. But Nelson's victory turned the Mediterranean into a British lake; Bonaparte's communications with France were completely cut off. Left entirely dependent on his own resources in Egypt, he brought that country into subjection; but when he carried his arms into Syria, he was foiled by the stubborn resistance of Acre. His great scheme had been ruined by the destruction of the French fleet. Returning to Egypt, news reached him of European events which caused him hastily to make sail for France with a few companions, leaving Egypt under the control of General Kléber.

When Bonaparte sailed for Egypt, Great Britain was the only nation with which the Republic was actually at war. Austria and Prussia were at odds as to the compensation to be given to the Rhineland princes whose territories the recent treaties handed over to France. The Tsar Paul, who succeeded Catharine in Russia at the end of 1796, took offence at Bonaparte's seizure of Malta on his way to Egypt, and was hostile to all the ideas which the French Revolution represented. The Directory roused general alarm in Europe by its high-handed treatment of the pope, and by organising a Roman

Republic, and a new 'Helvetic Republic' in Switzerland, and replacing the monarchy at Naples by a 'Parthenopean' Republic.

Hence, by the beginning of 1799, a new coalition was formed against France, its chief members being Great Britain, Russia, and Austria. War was declared, and the French generals met with a series of reverses, especially at the hands of the Russian Suvarov or Suwarrow in the north of Italy; the Bourbon monarchy was restored at Naples under the protection of Nelson's fleet. The ship which carried Bonaparte evaded hostile squadrons and landed him in October. Although in the meantime Austria and Russia had quarrelled and Suvarov had thrown up his command, the military situation was still critical, and the political situation at Paris was still more so.

The returned general hastened to Paris, acclaimed as the conqueror of Egypt. The Directory had lost public confidence and was hopelessly out of touch with the Assemblies. The constitution did not permit any one so young as Bonaparte—now only thirty—to join the Directory; but he found a useful ally in one of its members, the Abbé Sieyès, the archbuilder of constitutions. Sieyès had a new constitution quite ready, exquisitely symmetrical, with the governmental powers so admirably distributed that every one was a check on every one else, and there was no real power anywhere at all. It only remained necessary to create one official with power to override every one else, in place of the figure-head provided by the Sieyès constitution.

This was done. A *coup d'état* was carried out, the Assemblies being forced to submission by the advance of the soldiery who were behind the great soldier. Napoleon Bonaparte was proclaimed 'First Consul,' with, for form's sake, a pair of colleagues, also called consuls, whose functions were merely formal. The First Consul was nominally appointed only for ten years; but the appointment of all executive officers, including all ministers, was in his hands, and also that of the 'Council of State,' a body created by the new constitution, who alone had power to introduce

legislation. Hence the First Consul was in effect a complete autocrat, who even held in his own hands the appointment of all the local authorities possessed of any powers. The title, borrowed from Republican Rome, lasted for a little more than four years, when it was exchanged for that of Emperor ; but for all practical purposes Napoleon was thenceforth the absolute monarch of France.

CHAPTER XXVI

NAPOLEON, FIRST CONSUL AND EMPEROR

NAPOLEON at once began to make peace-overtures to Great Britain and Austria, but the governments refused to regard them as genuine; so in the year after his *coup d'état* **1. The** (which was confirmed by a *plébiscite* or popular vote) he flung himself into Italy, where Masséna was holding out stubbornly in Genoa for France. He let Genoa **1800.** fall, for the sake of inflicting a crushing defeat on the Austrians at Marengo, a victory which was owed to the fortunate audacity of a subordinate. But though this gave him the upper hand in North Italy, Austria was not yet beaten to her knees. This, however, was brought about in the winter, when Moreau, advancing on Vienna, won the decisive victory of Hohenlinden. Austria was compelled to accept the peace of Lunéville, and Britain was left to fight alone.

Her naval power was again threatened by what was called the **1801.** Armed Neutrality, a league of the northern naval powers to resist the rights at sea which had hitherto always been claimed by the strongest navies and protested against by the rest. Now, however, there was good reason to **British** think that the Armed Neutrality was only prepara- **Successes.** tory to placing these fleets at the service of France; so, although Britain was at peace with Denmark, she sent a fleet to Copenhagen, and by the 'Battle of the Baltic' enforced Danish submission. French prospects were further damaged by the assassination of the Tsar Paul, who had come to regard Napoleon as the destroyer of Jacobinism. His successor, Alex-

ander 1., was full of liberal ideas, reversed the policy of Paul, and made friends with Britain. A British army was landed in Egypt, which defeated the French at Aboukir and compelled them to capitulate at Alexandria. Hence a general peace, which proved after all to be only a brief truce, was signed at Amiens in March 1802.

Peace, 1802.

Although the French government still made pretence of being a Republic, Napoleon's absolutism was certainly no less complete than that of Louis XIV. He set about reconciling hostile elements to the new régime, which satisfied the people at large, since they were not to be deprived of the material benefits which they had gained by the Revolution. So much being secured, they had lost all anxiety for the possession of political power, in the sense of participating in the government. There was a formal reconciliation with the clergy and the Church, though these were still treated as subordinate to the state. The exiled Royalists were allowed to return to a country where a Bourbon restoration was now a manifest impossibility. The glories of the court were revived in all their old magnificence. Splendid buildings rose, costly public works were undertaken. Napoleon set on foot and carried through a great codification of the laws, establishing a uniform system in place of the infinite number of local laws and usages which had grown up in the days when there was practically no central government. The 'Code Napoléon' which was not completed till some years afterwards, was introduced in all the lands which the emperor brought under his sway, and modified the law of those countries permanently. The pretence of a Republic was itself brought to an end in 1804, when Napoleon was proclaimed no longer First Consul, but Emperor.

Bonaparte's Administration.

Meanwhile, a diet, under French supervision, was working out the arrangements for the reorganisation of the German Empire in French and Russian interests, which meant in part the aggrandisement of Prussia as a counterpoise to Austria. Secular princes whose territories were annexed to France, as well as others, were compensated by the secularisation of the ecclesiastical domains—that is, by their absorption into the lay principalities. At the same time the various Re-

Foreign Policy.

publics set up in Italy, Holland, and Switzerland, were brought more directly under French control. This process was alarming, at least to the greater states. But Napoleon had no doubt of his ability to manage all of them, except the persistently hostile Britain, which made no haste to carry out the terms of the treaty of Amiens while it saw France practically ignoring them.

Fifteen months after the treaty, the friction between these two powers had reached the point of another open rupture, and war

1803. was declared. Napoleon gathered at Boulogne vast armaments which he hoped to create an opportunity for flinging across the Channel, and masses of British volunteers were drilling to meet the invader when he came. But Napoleon could not strike while the British fleets swept the seas, and the British had no armies fit to attack Napoleon's veterans.

Then Napoleon shocked all Europe by kidnapping a Bourbon prince, the Duc d'Enghien, on foreign soil, and having him shot

2. Napoleon I., as an accomplice in a royalist plot which had just been discovered and crushed in Paris; a plot which led directly to the assumption of the title of Emperor by Napoleon, since the acknowledgment of his dynasty seemed needed to put an end finally to Bourbon conspiracies.

The Tsar Alexander was already sufficiently ill-pleased with the new despotism in France; his own ideal seems to have been that of popular government ruling by grace of a benevolent—and legitimate—autocrat who could impose his own will upon the people whenever he thought it would be for their own good. Pitt returned to office in England, having been driven into temporary retirement by the king's refusal to grant

The Third Coalition, 1805. Catholic Emancipation, to which the minister had pledged himself as a corollary to the incorporation

of the Irish parliament into that of the 'United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland' (1800). Pitt and Alexander exerted themselves to create a new coalition against Napoleon, which took shape in the summer of 1805, being joined by Austria, while Prussia stood aloof; the inefficiency of Prussian policy had not been affected by the succession of Frederick William III. on his father's death. We may here note that the Austrian emperor

now styled himself 'Hereditary Emperor of Austria,' while Napoleon's title as Emperor of the French was acknowledged. The accession of Austria to the coalition was brought about when the republics of the western half of North Italy were annexed to France, and the eastern half suppressed itself as a republic and invited Napoleon to become its king.

Before the coalition declared war, Napoleon designed his great blow against Britain. The French and Spanish fleets were to effect a junction in the West Indies, enticing the main British fleet away. Then they were to return, and in conjunction with the fleet blockaded in Brest were to wipe out the Channel fleet, and so to secure the invasion of England. The Toulon fleet escaped, was pursued across the Atlantic by Nelson, evaded him, returned, was checked by a squadron off Finisterre, and withdrew to Cadiz, while Nelson was hurrying back. The scheme of invasion was completely wrecked.

**Trafalgar
and Ulm,
October.**

By this time, Austria and Russia were progressing with their slow preparations, and Austria had pushed an army forward into Bavaria. Napoleon lost no moment after the failure of his invasion scheme had revealed itself. With extraordinary speed, the vast force destined for the British shores was hurled from the neighbourhood of Boulogne across Europe into Bavaria. The Austrian army was isolated and compelled to capitulate at Ulm on October 20th. The next day, Nelson caught the combined French and Spanish fleets off Trafalgar, where he annihilated them; at the price of the great sailor's life, Britain there won mastery of the seas so decisive that it has never again been challenged. The nightmare of invasion which had hung over England for two years and a half was finally dissipated.

But Napoleon never seems to have fully grasped the significance of the British sea-power. Publicly at least he made light of Trafalgar, which even in the eyes of the dying Pitt was overshadowed by the events that followed. Three weeks had hardly passed when the French were at Vienna. In another three weeks, the advancing Russians, joined by the second Austrian army which had not ventured to interpose between Ulm and Vienna, were decisively routed in one of

**Austerlitz,
December.**

Napoleon's most brilliant victories at Austerlitz (Dec. 2nd). In the interval, Prussia had begun to think about taking action, but had preferred second thoughts. Before the end of the month, Russia had withdrawn in disgust, and Austria was submitting to have terms dictated to her at Presburg.

Those terms included the transfer to the 'Kingdom of Italy' of the Italian provinces which still remained to Austria after

1806. Lunéville, and the surrender of various outlying territories to the South German princes who had sided with Napoleon. The King of England's German Elec-

A new Map of Europe. torate of Hanover was presented to Prussia. Most of the German states outside of Austria and the Prussian dominion were soon after associated in the Confederation of the Rhine; but one group on the north-west was made into the kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's younger brother Jerome; Belgium and Holland were made a kingdom for Louis Bonaparte; while the Bourbons, on a flimsy pretext, were turned out of Naples, which was given to Joseph Bonaparte. In August the emperor finally dropped his title as Roman Emperor, and the Holy Roman Empire ended its thousand years of existence.

Negotiations between Napoleon and the new British ministry, rejected by the latter, opened Prussia's eyes to the fact that she

Jena. was being made a cat's-paw. Too late, she turned on Napoleon, who promptly crushed her defiance at

Jena (October), and made what was practically a triumphant march through the country. Frederick William took refuge with the Russians, against whom Napoleon was obliged to advance. A desperate but indecisive battle at Eylau in February was followed by a decisive victory at Friedland in June; and this was followed

Tilsit, 1807. by a personal meeting between Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit, when the two emperors came to an amicable agreement which meant that they were virtually to share the domination of Europe. Prussia lost some more territory, her share of Poland being transformed into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and handed over to Saxony. But Napoleon's grand object was to carry out his 'Continental System,' initiated by a decree issued from Berlin after Jena, by which the British were to be absolutely excluded from every European port; thus

British commerce was to be ruined and Britain herself was doomed to perish.

As a matter of fact, no sea-borne commerce being possible except in British ships, and all Europe having become largely dependent on goods procurable only from overseas, the Continental System would have been doomed to failure, even if Russia had not withdrawn from it and England had not secured a port of entry for herself through the action of Spain and Portugal. The British answered the treaty of Tilsit by seizing the Danish fleet after a bombardment of Copenhagen, although Britain and Denmark were not at war. Napoleon replied by requiring Portugal to join the Continental System. French troops marched on Portugal, when she protested; and Napoleon took the opportunity to bring about the abdication both of the King of Spain and his son, and to bestow the Spanish Crown on his own brother Joseph, whose kingdom of Naples was handed over to Murat, one of Napoleon's marshals. The Spanish people rose in arms against the usurpation, and the British resolved to support Spain and Portugal with all their military force. Thus began the Peninsular War.

The Continental System, 1807.

1808, Portugal and Spain.

The rising in Spain was a spontaneous popular insurrection, without organisation, without an effective head; but for that very reason it was not to be suppressed. Spain was flooded with French troops, which could hardly help being victorious in the field, but wherever they were not present, the bands of insurgents were breaking in upon their communications. There was no fleet to stop British troops from entering Portugal, when Sir Arthur Wellesley, best known by his later title of Duke of Wellington, defeated the French commander and forced him to evacuate the country altogether. In the winter, the masterly operations of Sir John Moore prevented Napoleon from completing the subjugation of Southern Spain; and from that time, the Peninsula was left to the French marshals, for each of whom Wellington was fully a match, while their jealousies prevented their effective co-operation. For five years, the attempt to conquer Spain kept a quarter of a million French soldiers locked up in the

3. The Peninsular War.

Peninsula. Marshal Victor, Masséna, Marmont, tried their hands in turn against Wellington, only to be repulsed or to suffer complete rout, until the crushing blow was dealt to Jourdan at Vittoria in 1813. Throughout the whole period the Spanish regulars were of the least possible assistance to the British troops, whereas the irregulars carried on persistent guerilla warfare infinitely distracting and destructive to the French armies.

But the Spanish defiance did much more than to lock up quarter of a million of French soldiers. Hitherto Napoleon had waged war against kings; in Spain he was waging war against a people, and the example of Spain awoke the spirit of passionate patriotism in the hearts of the peoples of Europe. The idea of nationalism had hitherto been exceedingly subordinate in European politics. For the heterogeneous peoples which made up the Austrian state—Netherlanders, Germans, Magyars in Hungary, Czechs in Bohemia, Italians in Italy—no common idea of patriotism was possible. Territories were transferred from one power to another, as the outcome of wars or marriages, without any sort of consideration for differences of race, language, or customs. German princes sent their German subjects to fight shoulder to shoulder with the French against German armies. Italy was parcelled out among dynasties which might be anything so long as they were not Italian. The uprising of Spain kindled the sense of common nationality wherever common nationality existed in Europe, and bore fruit not only in the uprising of Germany against Napoleon, but in the liberation or unification of one after another of the nations of Europe during the nineteenth century.

In Prussia, intolerably humiliated after Jena, which it owed to the unpatriotic incompetence of the aristocratic class which dominated the government, the foundations of a new national life were laid by the political reforms of Stein and the military reorganisation of Scharnhorst, which gave every peasant and every citizen a consciousness of his own personal share in Prussia. But the time to strike had not yet arrived; before it came, the gospel of nationalism

The Awakening of Nationalism.

The Re-generation of Prussia.

was being spread and welcomed almost throughout Germany; not by the government but by the peoples themselves.

If Napoleon had concentrated his energies upon personally crushing Wellington, matters would probably have taken a different course. The British could hardly have poured enough troops into Portugal to make head against the emperor's armies, though the lines of Torres Vedras which baffled Masséna might well have baffled Masséna's master. But Napoleon never realised how difficult the task was which he left to his marshals, or how serious a strain on his resources the Peninsula was to be. Moreover, in 1809 he was engaged in another bout with Austria, which was decided by the battle of Wagram. Before the end of the year Austria had humiliated herself by bestowing a princess on the Corsican as a wife in place of his divorced Empress Josephine. The King of Sweden, who had remained almost alone in obstinate defiance, was deposed and replaced by Charles XIII., who nominated Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's marshals, as his heir; and Bernadotte remained in Sweden as its effective ruler. Louis Bonaparte was not a sufficiently subservient ruler in Holland, so he was removed and his kingdom annexed to France, as the papal states in Italy had also been annexed. The princes of the Confederation of the Rhine were Napoleon's humble servants, Prussia was under his heel, and Austria dared not move against him. In Europe there remained only one power, Russia, which would not take orders from him; Alexander was growing distinctly hostile, and refusing to carry out the Continental System.

To drive the British out of the Peninsula would not annihilate Britain; but Napoleon clung to his belief that the perfected Continental System would have that effect, though she was the one country where commerce and manufactures continued to thrive in spite of war. Her exclusion from the Continent was more ruinous to the Continent than to her. Still, Napoleon counted that the one means of crushing this persistent enemy was to bend Russia to his will; and to this end he made vast preparations for a grand Russian campaign.

The army with which Napoleon entered Russia in June 1812

The
Wagram
Campaign.

Napoleon's
Supremacy,
1810.

4. Napoleon's
Fall.

numbered nearly 400,000 men in spite of the Peninsular War ; for he was able to draw upon the subject or dependent states for contingents. The Russian generals retired before him, enticing him into the heart of Russia, where the provision of supplies was an eternally increasing difficulty. When Napoleon reached Smolensk, he found it in flames. At Borodino, the Russians stopped to fight him ; he won the battle but at the cost of 30,000 men. He reached Moscow in September and found it deserted ; but the city was fired over the heads of his soldiers. The Russians would not give battle ; but whatever move he made they could hang on his flanks and cut off the supplies of the fast dwindling army. The road by which he had come was a desert. A retreat began ; the grand army was already a wreck before, with terrific suddenness, a cruel winter set in and practically annihilated it.

This huge disaster gave Europe its opportunity. The Prussian people forced the Prussian government to rise and fling off the yoke. Russia came to Prussia's aid ; Austria hung back at first ; but in effect, Napoleon now had a more dangerous, because a whole-hearted, combination against him than ever before. Yet in spite of his frightful losses he succeeded again in bringing huge armies into the field, though at last in doing so he weakened the forces in Spain so that Wellington was able to drive them out of the Peninsula altogether. When Austria joined the coalition, Napoleon was still able to win a great victory at Dresden, but at Leipzig he was overwhelmed, and driven back into France. But for his unconquerable self-confidence he could still have obtained from the allies terms which would have left him France bounded by the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenees ; but these he would not accept. The allies invaded France ; at length the emperor found that his marshals were unanimous in declaring that further resistance was madness. He submitted, and abdicated. The allies deported him to the island of Elba in the Mediterranean ; and a European Congress proceeded to settle the affairs of Europe, and of France in particular.

The Moscow Campaign, 1812.

Napoleon at bay, 1813.

1814, Napoleon exiled.

The Bourbon dynasty was recalled to France in the person of Louis XVIII. Broadly speaking, the diplomatists and monarchs proposed as nearly as possible to reconstitute the position as it had been before the French Revolution; France was to be the France of the French monarchy when it fell. In November, a congress of the five great powers—**A European Congress.** Russia, Prussia, Austria, France, and Great Britain— assembled at Vienna to complete the settlement on the old lines; a restoration of all the ruling families to their dominions, without regard to any sentiments of nationalism, or any of the principles from which the Revolution had started.

The settlement, however, was deferred. Conflicting interests were not easily reconciled, and quarrels among the powers themselves threatened. Napoleon, brooding in Elba, determined to strike one more blow for his lost dominion. He escaped from his island, landed on March 1st near Cannes, and appealed to the French nation's loyalty to its emperor. The appeal was successful. His progress towards Paris became a triumphal march, and the Bourbons took hasty flight. The powers stopped their quarrels, and agreed to make war on Napoleon till he was effectively extinguished. But coalitions move slowly, and Napoleon was swift and sudden. By the beginning of June his army was organised; while only the Prussians under Blücher and a heterogeneous force under Wellington were ready in Belgium to meet him.

Napoleon's object was the usual one—to split Blücher and Wellington, and to crush first one and then the other. He struck at the centre, and was so far successful that he defeated Blücher at Ligny and drove him to retreat—as Napoleon thought, on his base at Namur. Wellington beat off an attack at Quatre Bras on the same day, but being unable to effect the junction with Blücher, fell back on Waterloo to cover Brussels. On June 18th, Napoleon attacked him, having sent a column to take care of Blücher. But Blücher had retired not on Namur but on Wavre, in order to join Wellington at Waterloo, and the force sent in pursuit failed in its purpose. From a little before midday the

**5. The
Hundred
Days, 1815.**

**The
Waterloo
Campaign.**

battle raged, the British and Hanoverians stubbornly repelling the fierce onset. In the course of the afternoon the approach of the Prussians on the French right began to make itself felt. Finally Napoleon hurled the 'Old Guard' against the British; it was hurled back again, broken and shattered. Then at last the British line swept forward as Blücher crashed in on the French flank; Napoleon's army broke and fled. The exhausted British left the pursuit to the Prussians; but no rally was possible.

The allies marched on Paris. Napoleon threw himself on British generosity and surrendered to the captain of the *Bellerophon*; but generosity to Napoleon was fraught with too many dangers to Europe. The great conqueror was sent to end his days on the lonely rock of St. Helena, far away in the South Atlantic. The Revolution was over. The Napoleonic wars were over. Once again the monarchs set themselves to reconstruct Europe.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK VIII. 1789 TO 1815

GUIDING DATES

<p>1789. Meeting of States-General . . . May. National Assembly. Fall of Bastille . June. End of Feudalism . Aug.</p>	<p>1795. Third partition of Poland . . . Jan. Break-up of the Coalition . April-June The Directory established . . . Oct.</p>
<p>1790. Leopold II., emperor Feb.</p>	<p>1796. Bonaparte in Italy, Lodi . . . May Arcola . . . } Accession of Paul I. in Russia . } Nov</p>
<p>1791. Death of Mirabeau March Flight to Varennes . June The Constitution . Sept. Legislative Assembly Oct.</p>	<p>1797. St. Vincent . . Feb. Treaty of Campo Formio . . Oct.</p>
<p>1792. France declares war April. Francis II., emperor July September Massacres Sept. National Convention Sept. Conquest of Savoy and Belgium . Dec.</p>	<p>1798. Bonaparte in Egypt June Battle of the Nile . Aug. Second Coalition . Dec.</p>
<p>1793. Louis XIV. beheaded } First coalition . } Jan. Second partition of Poland . } Committee of Public Safety . . . April Fall of Girondists. } Reign of Terror begins . } June</p>	<p>1799. Suvarov in Italy . April Return of Bonaparte, who becomes First Consul . . . Oct.</p>
<p>1794. Robespierresupreme April Thermidorean Re- action . . . July</p>	<p>1800. Marengo . . . June Hohenlinden . . Dec. 1801. Battle of Aboukir } Accession of Alexander I. . } March Battle of the Baltic . April 1802. Peace of Amiens . March</p>

1803. War with England renewed . . . May	1808. Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain.
1804. Code Napoléon issued . . .	Spanish rising . . . June
Murder of Duc d'Enghien . . .	Peninsular War begins Aug.
Napoleon I., emperor . . . May	1809. Wagram Campaign } Talavera . . . } July
1805. Third Coalition . . . April	1810. Marriage of Napo- leon March
Ulm and Trafalgar . . . Oct.	1811. Battles in the Penin- sula
Austerlitz . . . } Treaty of Presburg } Dec.	1812. Salamanca July
1806. Confederation of Rhine July	The Moscow Cam- paign July-Dec.
End of Holy Roman Empire Aug.	1813. Battle of Vittoria . . . June
Jena Oct.	Battle of Leipzig . . . Oct.
Continental System . . . Nov.	1814. Napoleon sent to Elba April
1807. Tilsit July	1815. Return of Napoleon March
Stein in Prussia . . .	Waterloo Campaign June

LEADING NAMES

Louis XVI. — Mirabeau — Leopold II. — Francis II. — Frederick William II. — Danton — Robespierre — Carnot — Frederick William III. — Napoleon Bonaparte — Moreau — Nelson — Suvarov — Paul I. — William Pitt — Alexander I. — Joseph Bonaparte — Stein — Wellington — Blücher.

NOTES

India. Indian history has now become practically that of the gradual expansion of British ascendancy, till the East India Company is recognised as the sovereign of India in place of the Mogul. The process, however, was not one of aggressive conquest. The actual British dominion, under British government, was only a small portion of the Peninsula in 1790. There were sundry native princes, viceroys, and confederacies, each of whom controlled larger territories than the British. Each regarded every other power, but the British most of all, as an aggressive rival in competition for supremacy. Lord Wellesley, Wellington's elder brother, was the only governor-general who sought to acquire territory; though whenever war was forced on the British, the aggressor inevitably had to cede territory when the war ended. Wellesley's method was, to extend to native states

the military protection of forces in British pay under British officers, territory being ceded by the protected state in order to meet the cost. Hence British territory was considerably extended before 1815, while the protected states were also under British control, though not under direct British government.

The Industrial Revolution. A series of mechanical inventions and discoveries, chiefly made in Great Britain during the latter part of the eighteenth and the earlier part of the nineteenth century, were destined entirely to revolutionise the processes of manufacture in all countries, though Great Britain was the first to profit by them. First, machinery worked by hand enabled one worker to produce a very much larger amount of work in a given time. Then machinery driven by water-power multiplied production; and then machinery driven by steam-power displaced that driven by water-power. Where machinery was set up, workers congregated; and thus great manufacturing towns came into being. Great Britain obtained a tremendous lead over the rest of the world, partly from natural advantages, partly because her soil alone was not devastated by the Napoleonic wars; while, as we have seen, Napoleon's continental system presented her with the whole sea-borne trade of Europe.

The End of Feudalism. At the close of the Middle Ages, Feudalism ceased to be the basis of military organisation. The essence of feudalism is the exchange of service for protection; that of the modern community is the exchange of service for wages, the state being responsible for protection. Modern military organisation began when the state paid its troops instead of depending on feudal levies. But feudalism all over Europe established a hereditary distinction between the protecting class who owned the land and the class who rendered them service. The claim to service was maintained while the claim for protection lapsed. The strong continued to hold their privileges. Politically, feudalism yielded to absolutism; that is, the central governments were able to control the great feudatories; but the subordinate classes were still not admitted to political rights. Socially, feudalism remained, that is, the class distinctions and the privileges of the hereditary landowners were scarcely abated, except in the British isles; where, in England at least, the classes merged in each other without the sharp dividing lines of continental Europe. The French Revolution destroyed hereditary divisions and hereditary privileges in France, and greatly weakened them throughout Europe; they still survived with modifications, but they ceased to be regarded as fundamental laws on which the existence of social order depended.

BOOK IX
THE MODERN NATIONS

CHAPTER XXVII

THE EUROPEAN POWERS FROM 1815 TO 1871

THE Congress of Vienna, having for its guiding spirits the Austrian Metternich and the Frenchman Talleyrand, rearranged the map of Europe. The French border was nearly that of 1789. In Italy, Austria had Lombardy and Venetia; the Bourbons were restored in Naples. Sardinia recovered Savoy. The German Empire had ceased to exist, but the German states were formed into a very loose confederation under Austrian presidency. Napoleon's Grand Duchy of Warsaw was not returned to Prussia but was transferred as the Kingdom of Poland to Alexander of Russia. Prussia by way of compensation got half Saxony and a group of Rhine provinces which brought her borders in direct contact with France. Hanover became a kingdom, as yet attached to the British Crown. The Crown of Holland and Belgium together was bestowed on the house of Orange.

Only this much was left of the Revolution, that Louis XVIII. was required to grant a charter of liberties in France providing some share in the government to the people more or less after the British model; sundry minor German states followed suit, and Alexander gave a charter to Poland. But no corresponding move was made, in spite of vague declarations, in Prussia, Austria, or Russia; and the charters were all treated as Acts of Grace on the part of the Crown, revocable by the Crown if the people proved ungrateful. It was the divine right of kings to rule, and their pious duty to rule beneficently; but the people were not to be permitted to question their decrees. These in effect were the principles of

the Holy Alliance—an agreement entered upon by the Tsar, the Emperor, and the King of Prussia—principles which they preferred to enforce in dominions other than their own. At the same time, the principles of nationalism were totally ignored in Italy, in the union of Belgium and Holland, and in the Austrian Empire, which was part German, part Magyar, part Slav, and part Italian.

There are then two political movements at work in Europe in the half-century following Waterloo. One, the birth of the **Democracy and Nationalism.** French Revolution, is the popular demand for the expression at least of the popular voice in the government. The other is the nationalism which had been quickened by the Napoleonic wars; a demand in part for national independence of alien control, in part for the unification of broken-up and divided nationalities. The two movements are found working simultaneously in some regions; but there is no law of association between them. Italy in her struggle for liberation and unity succeeds not under republican leadership but under the constitutional monarchists. German unity is achieved by statesmen who have no popular leanings. But in 1871, fifty-six years after Napoleon's sun had set, when the later Napoleon's sun had set also, Germany was at last a consolidated empire, Italy was a consolidated and constitutional kingdom, Greece and Belgium were constitutional kingdoms, and the release of the Slavonic states of the Turkish Empire from Mohammedan control was in the near future; while in Great Britain the balance of political power had passed first from the landowning class to the manufacturers, and then from the manufacturers to the 'working'-classes. The only countries in Europe where unqualified despotism survived were Russia and Turkey.

At the outset, it appeared that the victory was to be with absolutism. In Spain, Ferdinand VII. was no sooner restored than **The Victory of Reaction.** he cancelled his promises and ruled despotically. Austria followed the same line in Lombardy; the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, the King of Naples, and the masters of the independent duchies in the north of Italy, took their cue from Austria. In England, the Tory government adopted severe measures for the repression of all expression of

popular discontent. In France, Louis XVIII. resisted the pressure of the ultra-royalists, and maintained what might be called a constitutional system; but here too the reactionary party, headed by the king's brother and heir, obtained the ascendancy from 1821 onwards. In Spain, however, discontent reached such a pitch that a popular revolt in 1820 led to the compulsory acceptance by the king of the constitution which had been formulated in 1812 during the Peninsular War. This 'constitution of 1812' became the watchword of the revolutionists who were at the same time rising in Naples, in other parts of Italy, and in Sicily. The Holy Alliance was brought to bear on these disturbances, Great Britain and France not being prepared to intervene actively. France indeed joined with the Holy Alliance; and in Spain, Portugal, and Italy popular resistance was crushed and absolutism restored.

The death of Louis XVIII. placed his brother on the French throne as Charles X. in 1824, and the government became persistently reactionary. But the effect was not unlike that of the accession of James II. in England in 1685. The sober constitutionalists combined to effect an almost bloodless revolution in July 1830; the king was forced to abdicate, and his cousin Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was raised to the throne as a constitutional king, Charles with his son and grandson retreating to exile in England. This was the first definitely successful revolt against the reaction.

2. Resistance to the Reaction.

France.

At the same time, nationalism won its first victory. The system of government in the Turkish Empire was of the oriental, not the western type. The sultans were very much in the hands of the troops called Janissaries, the provinces were left to the provincial governors, and Egypt under Mehemet Ali paid very little attention to the sovereign at Constantinople. It was, however, primarily the Christian populations, subjected to Mohammedan rulers, which suffered from serious oppression. A rising which began in Moldavia, in 1820, was followed by a general insurrection in the Morea, the southern peninsula of Greece, and in the islands of the Ægean. In spite of strong sympathy in Russia and in England,

Greek Independence.

the Greeks were left without European support, other than that of volunteers such as Lord Byron. They held their own, though it seemed certain that they must succumb to the Turks reinforced by a fleet and army from Egypt. The deciding factor in the situation was the accession of Nicholas 1. as Russian Tsar. Russian policy was thenceforth guided exclusively by Russian interests. In spite of Metternich, Russia, Great Britain, and France came to an agreement to force concessions upon the sultan—a process which immediately involved their sinking the Egyptian fleet at the battle of Navarino. Ultimately, after a war in which Russia was left to act by herself, Turkey was compelled to allow Greece to become an independent constitutional monarchy under the young Prince Otho of Bavaria.

The 'July Revolution' in France was immediately followed by the revolt of Belgium against Dutch domination, and of Poland against the Russian supremacy; while the peaceful manner in which it had been carried out helped very materially in the passage in England of the Reform Act which reconstructed the House of Commons. Both in France and in England the effect was to make the manufacturers and the middle classes the controlling power.

In Belgium the clericals were united to the liberals, because of the antagonism between Belgian Catholicism and Dutch Calvinism. The intervention of the powers brought about the separation of the two kingdoms, the Belgian Crown being bestowed on Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, uncle of the Princess Victoria, who four years later became Queen of England. It may be noted in passing that, as the Crown of Hanover could not pass to a female, its union with that of Great Britain was then brought to an end, and the way prepared for its ultimate incorporation with Prussia. The Polish insurrection exemplified the fatal incapacity of the Poles for acting in unison; in spite of heroic resistance it was ruthlessly stamped out, and Poland was turned into a province of the Russian Empire.

Meanwhile, the Spanish dominions in Central and South America had broken away from Spain, and Brazil had become separated from Portugal as an empire under the Portuguese

king's eldest son, Pedro, who could not hold the Crowns in conjunction. When King John died, Pedro claimed the Portuguese succession for his daughter Maria, who was opposed by his brother Miguel. Ultimately, by the active assistance of Britain and with French support, the Crown was secured to Maria, who married Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, brother of the King of the Belgians. Miguel, successful at the outset, had ruled with brutal despotism, and Maria's cause and her victory were made the cause and the victory of constitutional principles. In Spain the death of Ferdinand in 1833 led to a struggle for the succession between his brother Don Carlos and his widow Christina, representing their infant daughter Isabella. Here also the cause of the female succession was identified with that of constitutionalism and was ultimately successful; though in the long-run constitutionalism did not profit by it.

Once more, the revolutionary movement was to be roused by France. The 'Orleanist' rule of Louis Philippe was a very different thing from that of Charles x., but it was by no means satisfactory to the bulk of the French nation. Wealth had become the real source of political power; the conflict between capital and labour was growing more acute, and the labouring classes looked to political power as the means to their victory in that conflict. The sheer feebleness of the government led to its easy overthrow in February 1848: the royal family retired into exile, and for the second time a French Republic was proclaimed. The new Republican government did not realise the hopes of the Socialists—the name now being applied to those who held that the sources and the control of production should be in the hands not of private persons, but of the state or community; but the revolution set an example to Europe which was soon plunged in a general ferment. This year, 1848, is known as the Year of Revolutions.

In every German state there arose a clamour for constitutional reform so sudden and so unanimous that the princes in general were compelled to give way to it, and everywhere new constitutions were promulgated before March was over. Even at Vienna and in the four kingdoms of Prussia,

Spain and
Portugal.

3. The Year
of Revolu-
tions.

France.

Germany.

Hanover, Saxony, and Bavaria, the rulers were forced to grant or to promise the popular demands. Nevertheless, before the end of the year the tables had been turned both in Austria and in Prussia, and the monarchists were in the ascendent. But if the popular movement met with a partial success, the attendant movement for German unity collapsed completely. An assembly of deputies from all German states was called at Frankfort which appointed an administration and set about formulating a German constitution. But there was utter disagreement between the democrats, the reactionaries, and the constitutional theorists, and between those who wanted to include Austria and those who wanted Prussia to be the head and to exclude Austria. The final result was the collapse of the entire movement, accompanied in Austria by the revocation of the recently granted constitution.

In every other quarter the movement, nationalist or democratic or a mixture of the two, broke down, after some initial success. Hungary, roused by the eloquence of **The Austrian Empire.** Kossuth, demanded independence; Bohemia demanded self-government. But there was antagonism instead of co-operation between the two. Austrian troops were able almost at once to secure Prague, the Bohemian centre, and the defiance of Hungary was crushed with aid from the Tsar. Hungary was deprived of the degree of self-government which had been granted before the insurrection.

In Italy, Pius ix., who became pope in 1846, had at first acquired immense popularity by his liberal attitude. The February Revolution and the first disturbance **Italy.** at Vienna kindled the spark in Italy; in one city after another the populace rose against the Austrian Dominion, and Charles Albert, the Sardinian king, declared war on Austria. But the skill of the Austrian general, Radetsky, triumphed; the pope took alarm, when he found himself threatened with an Austrian war, and deserted the popular cause; and the Austrians not only forced a humiliating peace on Victor Emmanuel, in whose favour Charles Albert abdicated, but also, besides crushing revolt in her own provinces with an iron hand, gave her aid in stamping out the revolutionary movements in the rest of Italy.

In France itself the Republic was destined to a very brief life. The moderates—that is, the middle-class section—captured the government, and intended to model the new constitution after that of the United States of America, giving executive control to an elected president and legislative control to elected assemblies. But Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the great emperor, procured his election to the Presidency. He aimed successfully at obtaining the support of the peasantry and the working-classes. Following the precedents set by his uncle, he secured his re-election to the Presidency by a *coup d'état* confirmed by a *plébiscite* in 1851, and twelve months later was proclaimed Emperor of the French as Napoleon III. on the theory that there had been a legitimate Napoleon II., who never actually succeeded. France reappeared as a military empire, whose ruler was in the nature of the case obliged to pose as the arbiter of Europe, and to win military glory.

This opportunity soon came. Oppression of Christians in the Turkish Empire was used by the Tsar as an excuse for intervention; France claimed that the protection of the Latin-Church Christians lay with her; Great Britain for the last twenty years had been watching Russian aggression in the East with alarm. So France and England supported Turkey and declared war in 1854 when hostilities had begun between the eastern powers; while Prussia and Austria, though sympathising, cheerfully left them to do the fighting. The allies invaded the Crimea, and captured Sebastopol after a long siege and a winter in which their troops suffered frightful hardships. The Peace of Paris in 1856 neutralised the Black Sea and forbade Russia to keep more than six warships on it. The terms of the peace were agreed upon by a general conference of the Powers. The principle that the voice of Europe at large as well as that of the belligerents should be taken into account in settling terms of peace was beginning to become established.

Napoleon had won considerable credit from the war: the next field of his activities was to be in Italy. Here the success of Austria in 1849 had only intensified Italian antagonism to the

existing order. The passionate sentiment of patriotism inspired by the pen of Mazzini and the sword of Garibaldi was now to be guided by the politic brain of Cavour, whom the shrewd King of Sardinia had taken for his chief minister. Cavour directed his policy to obtaining European support for his schemes of Italian emancipation; and this he knew would not be available if emancipation were associated with republicanism. The victory could be won only under the banner of Victor Emmanuel and constitutional monarchy. For the sake of French and British support, Sardinia took part in the Crimean War, and in the congress which concluded it; and Cavour took the opportunity to enlist French and British sympathies.

The outcome was a compact under which France was to help Sardinia to acquire Venetia and Lombardy from Austria, herself receiving Savoy and Nice. Austria injudiciously adopted the aggressive tone which served to warrant French intervention when the refusal of the demands she made on Sardinia was followed up by an Austrian invasion of Piedmont. France and Sardinia at once joined forces, and the campaign was decided in favour of the allies by the battles of Magenta and Solferino. Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Bologna all ejected their rulers and offered themselves to Victor Emmanuel. Austria, however, was not yet beaten to her knees; and Napoleon, who considered that he had done enough for glory and might go further and fare worse, deserted his ally. He made a provisional treaty with the Austrians at Villafranca, by which Sardinia was to gain most of Lombardy but nothing more. Cavour was so indignant at the king's acceptance of the terms that he resigned. The Duchies and Bologna refused to take back their rulers, and by *plébiscite* voted solidly for their union with the Sardinian kingdom. Cavour was reconciled with the king and returned to office; Napoleon, as the price of his support, procured the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. Naples (under its Bourbon ruler Francis, who had recently succeeded the notorious Ferdinand, known as 'Bomba'), the papal states shorn of Bologna, and Venetia which

remained to Austria, still stood outside what was now the Sardinian kingdom of Northern Italy. Savoy, though it was the ancestral domain of the Sardinian dynasty, was not in fact Italian.

To this kingdom, the audacious enterprise of the great guerilla leader Garibaldi added Naples and much of the remaining papal territory. On his own responsibility he raised an **Garibaldi in** enthusiastic band of volunteers known as the **Sicily.** 'Thousand,' and flung himself into Sicily, always on the verge of revolt against the Bourbon rule. In six weeks he was master of the island, and two months later he was conducting what was practically a triumphal march through Southern Italy upon Naples, where he was hailed as Liberator. Cavour would have had no excuse for taking part in this exploit, if the pope had not provided it by preparing to attempt the recovery of Bologna. The North Italian troops were thus warranted in entering the papal states; while the plain facts justified Victor Emmanuel in announcing that the annexation of the two Sicilies alone could prevent the establishment of an independent Neapolitan Republic, which seemed the most probable outcome of Garibaldi's triumphs. Europe on the one hand and Garibaldi on the **First King** other recognised the logic of facts. As the king **of Italy.** advanced into Neapolitan territory, Garibaldi met him and greeted him as King of Italy. Rome itself, and Venetia, were all that still remained outside the Italian kingdom, whose first united parliament met in February 1861. Cavour lived just long enough to see the realisation of his hopes. The acquisition of Venetia still had to await the war between Prussia and Austria which gave it to Italy as Prussia's ally; that of Rome was deferred till the war between Prussia and France withdrew the French support from the papacy.

While the cause of Nationalism was being fought out in Italy, Prussia was falling under the control of the king, William 1., and the minister, Otto von Bismarck, who were to make her the head of a new united German Empire. To **5. Bismarck.** secure this leadership was Bismarck's primary aim; to that end, a supreme army was necessary; and he did not hesitate to urge the king to override the Prussian parliament and assume

what was virtually absolute authority, in order to obtain the needed military forces and reforms. The organisation, in the hands of Albert von Roon and Moltke, rapidly made the Prussian army into the most perfect of military machines. A contest for the leadership of Germany between Austria and Prussia was approaching; the victory of Prussia must mean the exclusion of Austria from any union of which she was head. It was Bismarck's aim to bring the rivalry to an issue at the moment most favourable for Prussia.

The opening came when the death of the King of Denmark revived disputed questions as to the succession to the duchies **Schleswig-** of Schleswig and Holstein which were attached **Holstein.** to the Danish Crown. The title of the new king, Christian, to them could be challenged. Prussia and Austria occupied the duchies after some fighting with the Danes, as representing the claims of the German Confederation. By a convention at Gastein between the two powers the administration of Schleswig was assigned to Prussia and that of Holstein to Austria. Bismarck on the one hand procured an alliance with Italy which was to be rewarded with Venetia, and on the other he beguiled Napoleon into neutrality—by allowing him first to expect the cession of the Rhine provinces, and secondly to believe that Prussia would have to appeal to France to save her from destruction. Meanwhile Austria was being led on to formal transgressions of subsisting rights, and the moment arrived for Prussia to deal the decisive blow.

Consummate organisation and perfect readiness for action brought what is known as the Seven Weeks' War to a very rapid **The Seven** conclusion. The Italians indeed met with nothing **Weeks' War.** but reverses; but the Prussians had inflicted a quite decisive defeat on the Austrians at Königgratz or Sadowa in less than three weeks after the hostilities began. The terms of peace gave Prussia all she required, and Bismarck even had to exert himself to prevent them from being unduly humiliating to Austria. The states of the German Confederation which had taken up arms in Austria's quarrel had been simultaneously and successfully occupied by the Prussians. The treaty which ended the war weakened Saxony, and handed over

Hanover and Hesse as well as Schleswig and Holstein to the victors.

A North German Federation comprising all the northern states was at once established, with the King of Prussia as hereditary president. Questions of peace and war and the military control were left to Prussia. The old confederation was abolished, Austria was withdrawn from all direct connection with the German states, and the southern states, without being admitted to the new Federation, were associated with it for military purposes. A Zollverein or Customs Union had for some time past helped to develop the sense of a unity of interests. Italy was rewarded by the cession to her of Venetia.

**The North
German
Federation.**

But the work of German unification was not yet finished. France was hankering after the Rhine provinces—Napoleon had expected to obtain them as the price of intervention for the salvation of Prussia. The emperor had been losing ground in the country. He had been ignored in the Schleswig-Holstein affair, and by Russia in her merciless repression of Poland's last revolt. He had blundered conspicuously over the Seven Weeks' War, and not less so in an attempt to restore an empire in Mexico, which had turned itself into a republic. Sooner or later, to protect himself and his dynasty, he would be forced to make war on Prussia; and, as with Austria, so with France, Bismarck meant the inevitable duel to be fought at his own time, and with plausible grounds for declaring that France was the aggressor.

**France and
Prussia.**

Spain provided the Prussian minister with his opportunity, when he was satisfied that he had brought the German military organisation up to the Prussian standard. The rule of Queen Isabella was disastrous, utterly bad without a redeeming feature. A revolution drove her from the country, and Spain wanted a king; but she wanted none of the claimants who desired the crown, which was declined by more than one prince to whom it was offered. The Spanish selection of a far from zealous candidate, who belonged to the house of Hohenzollern, the royal house of Prussia, was resented by

**The Spanish
Succession.**

Napoleon as a Prussian intrigue ; the negotiations on the subject between France and Prussia were easily given a turn which roused furious indignation throughout the French and German nations, and on July 19th war was declared. In numbers, in discipline, in armament, in generalship, the Germans, who answered solidly to the call of Prussia, proved immeasurably superior. The French fought with desperate valour. Within a month a series of desperate engagements, culminating in the slaughter at Gravelotte where thirty thousand men fell—more Germans than French—had been fought, with practically invariable success for the Germans. A great French army was shut up in Metz under Bazaine. A fortnight later the emperor with another great army was defeated at Sedan, and compelled to capitulate, Napoleon himself surrendering. Paris proclaimed the empire at an end, and set up a republican government of national defence. Before the end of September Paris was invested ; in October the German forces before Metz were released by the surrender of Bazaine with 150,000 men. A desperate resistance was organised in the provinces, but it was overwhelmed by the German troops, while Paris was starved almost to the last gasp, and was finally subjected to a tremendous bombardment. In January negotiations were opened which ended in the capitulation of Paris, and the transfer to Prussia of Alsace and Lorraine, while France was saddled with the payment of a huge indemnity.

The war, by withdrawing Napoleon's protection from the pope, gave Victor Emmanuel his opportunity of incorporating Rome in the Italian kingdom, and making it his capital. It made France a republic for the third time, and a republic she has remained ever since, though the stability of her government has more than once been threatened. But its most significant outcome was the establishment of the new German Empire with the King of Prussia as hereditary emperor. The southern states, excluded from the North German Federation, were included in the new empire. Each state remains in many respects self-governing, but for purposes of war, foreign policy, and commerce, the whole is under the

1870.

**Franco-
Prussian
War.**

**The New
German
Empire.**

direction of the Imperial government which is practically controlled by Prussia. The Austrian Empire remains outside. Austria being cut off from its old position as a state in the German Empire, the Austrian emperor of necessity made it his aim to render the government of his own empire more harmonious, by granting Hungary her own separate diet and administration for the conduct of Hungarian affairs.

CHAPTER XXVIII

AMERICA, AUSTRALASIA, AFRICA, AND ASIA TO 1871

WE have now to turn our attention to the regions outside Europe, and first to those which, having been under European control, severed themselves politically from the domination of the Old World.

A detailed account of the establishment of the various states of South and Central America will be unnecessary. With the exception of Guiana and British Honduras, the whole of this region at the opening of the nineteenth century was under the supremacy either of Spain or of Portugal. The populations consisted in part of pure Spaniards or Portuguese, but the great bulk of them were either of actual native descent, or of mixed blood, the government being entirely European. The example of the North American British colonies, followed by the Revolution in France, awoke revolutionary and democratic ideas; but the effective impulse to separation from Europe was given by the overturn of the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies by Napoleon 1. The Portuguese royal family itself took refuge in Brazil; the restoration after Waterloo threatened to make Portugal into an outlying province of a state which had been its own great colony; and it was rather Portugal which separated itself from the Brazilian Empire than Brazil which cut itself loose from Portugal.

In the Spanish provinces revolution was encouraged by the uncertainty as to where true authority was to be found when the people of Spain were defying the Bonaparte monarchy. The restoration of the Bourbon king Ferdinand, with the absolutist

reaction, did not mend matters, and there was a long period of struggle between Republicans and Royalists from one end of the continent to the other ; which ended in the ejection of the royalists, and the establishment of various republics controlled by military dictators which combined and dissolved their combinations in a very bewildering fashion. Ultimately the whole of Spanish South America took shape as nine independent republics ; in which it still appeared for a long time that every president or virtual dictator held his position so long as he could escape assassination and crush rivals, but no longer. Stable governments, however, at last succeeded, and the way was prepared for a great development of South American wealth and commerce. A similar process took place in Central America and in Mexico.

**South
American
Republics.**

When the British Empire was torn in two by the war of American Independence, the new nation which emerged consisted only of the thirteen British colonies which occupied the sea-board between Nova Scotia and Florida. They, like the French revolutionists, had before them the task of inventing a constitution, which should at once satisfy the demand of each separate member of the United States for self-government, and provide a central government which could enforce what would be to the common advantage as against the selfish claims of individual states. Under the constitution devised, each state had its own separate legislature and administration, while there was a central or federal legislature and administration in which all shared. The federal administration was completely controlled by a president elected for a term of four years.

**2. The
United
States.**

**The
Constitution.**

The lands to the westward, beyond the borders of the existing states, were under the control of the federal government. As these lands were occupied by new settlers pushing westwards, they were formed into new states, and added to the number of the original thirteen, with state governments on the same model. Thus the United States gradually expanded westwards till the Pacific was reached, the appropriation of Texas involving a war with Mexico in 1847. The war also secured California to the United States, and about the

Expansion.

same time the northern boundary between them and British North America—all of which was subsequently included in the Dominion of Canada—was fixed by treaty.

The expansion accentuated the important problem of slavery. The leading constitutional difficulty of the new nation was that of reconciling state rights and federal rights. On two questions the interests of the northern group of states clashed with those of the southern group. The wealth of the south lay in its plantations, notably cotton and tobacco, which were worked by slave labour. In the north there was no demand for slave labour, and wealth was produced by agriculture and manufactures. The manufacturers of the north, faced by the competition of Europe, sought to keep out the competition by high tariffs on imports. The south having no competition to face objected to high tariffs as raising the price of the goods which the southerners wanted to purchase. The south, depending on slave labour, found scriptural warrant for the institution of slavery. The north, not depending on slave labour, perceived that the institution of slavery was immoral and ought to be abolished, or at least forbidden where it was not already established, as where new states were recognised. As the north tended to become predominant in the federal government, the south became increasingly insistent on state rights, and increasingly opposed to federal imposition of tariffs and federal interference with slavery.

The point was at last reached when the southern states declared their right to secede from the union, and the northern states declared that secession was rebellion. The right of withdrawing from a union of states is the characteristic distinction of what is called a Confederation from what is called a Federation. The southerners claimed that the union was only a Confederation, and so were called Confederates; the northerners, for the corresponding reason, were called Federals. To admit the right of secession would at once have split the new nation into two antagonistic nations, and would have left both in the future without any security for permanence.

The war was waged with all the bitterness which generally marks civil broils. At the outset the southerners proved themselves superior in military skill, but the strength of numbers lay with the north. Capable leaders came to the front as the fight went stubbornly on—the north directed by the great President Abraham Lincoln. At last the tide turned in favour of the north, with which in the end the victory lay decisively. The cause of union had won, and with it the cause of slave emancipation. The great negro-slave population received freedom, though the race-antagonism between the black and the white citizens of the United States became no less acute than the antagonism between black slaves and white masters.

Great Britain's severance from the thirteen colonies did not destroy her colonial power; it did not even cut her off from America. Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and 3. The British Canada held to the British connection. Many loyalists emigrated from the new American republic into Canada, so as to remain under the British flag. Thus in course of time friction developed between the old French population and the increasing numbers of the British, and between both and the home government which continued to control the administration. A revolt in 1837 led to a reorganisation of the whole system. Canada had been divided into two; the two parts now became self-governing provinces of one colonial state, something like the separate states of the American union. In 1840 the mother country was waking up to the fact that great colonies with a future of expansion before them might well claim for themselves the constitutional liberties which English and Scots had won at home a century and a half before—the 'Responsible' Government, which means that the will of the elected legislative assemblies controls the appointment and the dismissal of the administrative officers. From that time the principle has prevailed of granting to every British colony 'responsible' government as soon as it has a population sufficiently advanced and sufficiently organised to conduct the management of its own affairs. As with the United States the lands westward to the

Pacific were gradually occupied by British settlers; and the whole of British North America with the exception of the island of Newfoundland was ultimately incorporated in the dominion of Canada.

Bereft of half North America, the British Empire almost unconsciously expanded into a new continent. Although for centuries Portuguese and Dutch had occupied lands **Australia.** in the great eastern Archipelago, Australia remained unexplored and unoccupied until Captain Cook visited it in 1770. Eighteen years later it was annexed by Great Britain, and the first British settlement was planted on its shores. The primary object was to find a new region for the deportation of criminals who were no longer wanted for forced labour in British colonies. The new territory was in part taken up by settlers other than the convicts sent to penal settlements. By slow degrees they spread, and New South Wales was organised as a colony. No material resistance was offered by the nomadic native races, an exceptionally undeveloped type of humanity. Emigrants from home increased in numbers, more of the continent was taken up, and separate colonies under separate governments were established, including the comparatively remote islands of New Zealand. The movement towards self-government already noticed in Canada was brought to bear also in Australasia; and an immense impulse was given to immigration, and to the development of manufactures, to meet the needs of the growing population, by the discovery of gold-fields.

The northern sea-board of Africa on the Mediterranean had been included in the civilised world ever since the days of **South Africa.** Carthage. To Europeans the rest of the continent was unknown till the voyages of the Portuguese led to the establishment of trading settlements at points on the coast. There was no penetrating inland. Only the Dutch discovered at the southern extremity a land and a climate where they could settle and remain from generation to generation. Arabs took possession of the east coast, and south of them the Portuguese retained a foothold; practically the whole interior was occupied by negro tribes which occasionally developed

remarkable powers of military organisation, but otherwise seemed to be incapable of progress.

The Napoleonic wars transferred the Dutch colony to the British. The transfer was confirmed, for cash, when William of Orange became King of Holland at the European **Cape** restoration. Twenty years later, a large portion of **Colony**. the Dutch population, half ruined by the abolition of slavery and wholly disgusted at what they looked upon as the very dangerous restraints imposed on them in their dealings with the warlike negro tribes across the border, withdrew inland out of reach of the British government, and were ultimately allowed or encouraged to set up two independent republics, beyond the Orange River, and beyond the Vaal. But still, only a very few adventurous travellers, inspired either by missionary zeal or by a passion for exploration, had penetrated at all into the vast interior regions. Africa was still emphatically the 'Dark Continent.'

In Asia two European powers were steadily advancing. The devastation wrought by the marauding bands of the Pindaris in Central India, encouraged by Mahratta princes, brought on a war which broke up the power of the Mahratta states, and added largely to the British territory. **India**. An ill-omened expedition to Afghanistan with the object of establishing there a dynasty which would resist Russian progress ended in disaster only partially retrieved by the victories of a punitive expedition which followed. The Sikh state in the Punjab was encouraged to attack the British, and two wars following each other with a brief interval ended with the annexation of the Punjab to British India in 1849. A rare act of deliberate British aggression had just before brought Sindh, the territory of the Lower Indus, into the British region; and immediately afterwards the outrageous conduct of the King of Burmah made necessary the annexation of a great part of his kingdom, on the east of the bay of Bengal. In 1857 the outbreak of a tremendous mutiny which spread over nearly all the native troops in Northern India, but especially on the Ganges basin, endangered the British rule. In six months, however, the back of the revolt was broken, and in twelve months the mutineer forces were practi-

cally crushed. The immediate outcome was the disappearance of the East India Company, and the transfer of the government of India to the British Crown. Since that time there has been no war within India, though there has been plenty of fighting on and beyond the border. A third of the whole area remains under the government of native princes owing the British sovereignty.

The other European power which advanced was Russia, under whose sway the central Asian districts passed as she moved forward step by step—her movements anxiously watched by some statesmen in London and most statesmen in India. British diplomacy permitted her to acquire an ever-increasing influence in Persia, a power which in itself was dangerous only because the Persian Shah is in the eyes of many Mohammedans the head of Islam, and a substantial portion of the Indian population is Mohammedan. But to Russia with designs upon India, a subservient Persia might prove extremely useful.

But in the far east of Asia there are two nations, China and Japan, with histories dating in one case from a period before Europe had any history and in the other from an earlier period than any existing European state. With neither had Europe come sufficiently in contact to affect her history till the nineteenth century opened. Before it closed, both, though in very different ways, were becoming profoundly important.

The Chinese belong definitely to the Mongolian group of peoples in which we are accustomed to include the non-Aryan tribes which have invaded Europe during the Christian era, the Turks, the Mongols proper who followed Genghis Khan, and the Manchus, the stock to which belongs the dynasty now reigning in China. Historical records compiled certainly before the sixth century B.C. carry a tolerably authentic history back to 2000 years earlier, before Hammurabi ruled in Babylon, about the era of the first Sargon. The Chinese had a highly organised political system and an advanced civilisation before Rome was founded; they had invented the art of writing when, in the sixth century B.C., the mystical religion

**Russia in
Central
Asia.**

**4. China
and
Japan.**

**China's
past.**

called Taoism was taught by Lao-Tse, and a philosophy of material common sense was formulated by Confucius, who might also be called the father of Chinese history. Four hundred years later Buddhism found its way among them. They had invented printing five hundred years before the art was discovered in Europe. In the thirteenth century A.D. China was overrun by the Mongols, and the Mongol dynasty of Khublai Khan was established, of whose splendours the Venetian traveller Marco Polo brought his own report to Europe. A century later the Mongol dynasty had been ejected by Chinese rulers, but in the seventeenth century the barbarian Manchus conquered their civilised neighbours and established the still reigning Manchu dynasty. It was at about the same time that the European traders in the east first brought tea from China to Europe.

But the Chinese government did not encourage intercourse with foreigners, whether missionaries or traders; and attempts to exclude British trade brought about the first war between China and a European power in 1840. Its conclusion opened certain ports to British trade, and Hong-Kong was ceded to the same power, under the treaty of Nanking. A few years later there broke out in China a great semi-religious insurrection known as the Taiping rebellion, which was still in full swing when the government again made it necessary for the British to go to war with them, this time with French support. The victories of the allies and their entry into Peking procured a further treaty, giving extended trading rights to the Europeans; and the Taiping rebellion was shortly afterwards brought to an end with the aid of British officers.

Trustworthy Japanese history goes back no further than the seventh century of our era, when a Japanese empire was certainly in existence. The Japanese race had probably taken possession of the islands some six hundred years before; their origin was probably mixed, but contained a Chinese element. In the course of time a system developed something like that of European feudalism, in which there was no firm central government, and great baronial families who owned all the land strove for supremacy. The great Mongol

China and
the
Europeans.

Mediaeval
Japan.

invasion at the close of the thirteenth century was destroyed partly in battle but chiefly by a tremendous storm. There was a nominal emperor, called the Mikado, but he had no effective power. The real rulership passed into the hands of the ministers called Shoguns, of whom there were successive dynasties.

In the sixteenth century the Portuguese and the Jesuit missionaries first brought Europeans in contact with Japan. At this period great prominence attaches to the Samurai, a military class corresponding to the knights of European feudalism. Japan, however, remained in almost entire seclusion from the rest of the world, retaining what may be called its exaggerated mediaevalism, till a new spirit of inquiry and progress began to awake in the nineteenth century. The Dutch were the only foreigners who had been allowed some sort of permanent foothold on the islands, and through them adventurous Japanese began to acquire some knowledge of western science and history. But other western nations were endeavouring to persuade Japan to open her gates. In 1854 the Japanese government was induced to sign a treaty, admitting the United States to enjoy commercial privileges at two ports. Similar treaties followed in rapid succession with Great Britain, Russia, and Holland. In 1862 a Japanese embassy was despatched to Europe and America, which brought back much enlightenment to the hitherto secluded nation. But it was the still unenlightened whose violent aversion to the foreigners caused outbreaks which in turn compelled the European powers to concerted action and a naval demonstration whereby submission was enforced. But again these events led to a union of the great clans for the overthrow of the Shogun, the elevation of the Mikado to be in fact the real head of the state, and the total ejection of the foreign barbarians. But the wise among them were turning to account what they saw of European drill discipline and armament, and were gradually acquiring a predominant influence. The accession of a new Mikado, young and vigorous, aided their cause. The hatred of the foreigner declined among them. By 1869 a complete revolution had been effected, not indeed without bloodshed, but

without any prolonged and fierce civil war. The Mikado was supreme. Within three years the old feudal system had been wiped out altogether, and Japan set about a thorough reorganisation which should place her on an equality with the western nations.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE NATIONS SINCE 1871

ONLY in the east of Europe have European states actually been at war with each other since the conclusion of the struggle between Germany and France. The pretext for the

1. Turkey. war between Russia and Turkey in 1877-78 was found in the Turkish misgovernment of the Danubian and Balkan provinces with a population mainly Christian and Slavonic. Its motive was to a great extent to be classed as

The Christian Nationalist. An insurrection began in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the extreme north-west of the

Provinces. Turkish Empire. East of these on the south of the Danube come Servia and then Bulgaria. These, with Montenegro on the west, joined the insurrection; with the sympathy of Slavonic Russia and the Slavonic parts of the Austrian Empire. Representations from the powers urging reforms were disregarded by the Porte—that is, the Turkish government—whose troops set about repressing the insurgents; while the stories of their brutalities created much excitement among the western nations. With the avowed object of securing at any rate the minimum of tolerable government for the Christian populations, Russia declared war on Turkey, and was joined by the

The Russian principality of Roumania on the north of the

War. Danube, which also declared itself independent. The Turks offered a brilliantly stubborn defence at Plevna, but were reduced by starvation, and seven months after the war began the Russians were at Adrianople. In another two months the Porte accepted the treaty of San Stefano (March, 1878). The British demand that the terms of the treaty should

be submitted to a European conference almost brought about an Anglo-Russian war, but ultimately the major portion of it was referred to the Berlin Congress. The main results were: that Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were made independent; Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed temporarily under Austrian administration; while Bulgaria remained tributary, but otherwise independent. (It may here be remarked that after many vicissitudes Bulgaria ultimately obtained complete independence, and that on the other hand Austria thirty years later transformed her temporary administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina into open annexation.) The Porte promised reforms in the rest of the Turkish territory, but continued successfully to evade carrying out the promises, which the 'Concert of Europe' has endeavoured to enforce only by ineffective diplomatic pressure—that is, by threats and recommendations which it does not translate into armed intervention.

Another portion of the Turkish dominions has brought about active British intervention, and threatened to involve Britain and France in war. The Khedive of Egypt is a sort of viceroy of the Sultan. The enormous debts incurred by him led to financial control being placed in the hands of the French and British. Financial control inevitably means interference with administration, resented by patriotic or ambitious natives. The danger that the government would be usurped by a 'patriotic' military party led, in 1882, to the seizure of Alexandria by the British, after a bombardment, the overthrow of the patriot or rebel leader Arabi Pasha by British troops, and the temporary transfer of administrative control to the same power. France, having left the work to be done by her neighbour, was obliged to assent to the British occupation, which continues to be professedly temporary at the present day.

The region to the south of Egypt proper, known as the Egyptian Soudan, fell under the sway of a barbaric pretender to prophetic honours called the Mahdi. Extremely inefficient Egyptian garrisons occupied points in this territory; and the British government, considering it

**The Berlin
Congress.**

2. Egypt.

The Soudan.

impracticable for the government to maintain effective control there, despatched General C. G. Gordon to effect the withdrawal of the garrisons single-handed. Before long he found himself shut up in Khartum by the Mahdi and his fanatical followers. A tardy relief expedition arrived a day too late. Khartum had fallen, and the heroic Gordon was dead. Thirteen years later, when the Egyptian army had been completely reorganised and thorough preparation made for a permanent reconquest, Khartum was recovered, and the Mahdi's forces utterly shattered by Sir Herbert Kitchener. The almost simultaneous arrival from the south-west of a party of French at Fashoda nearly brought about an Anglo-French war, but the French claims were not pressed.

Between the time of the British occupation of Egypt and the reconquest of the Soudan, the European powers in a series of agreements parcelled out the whole of Africa into what were called Spheres of Influence. Africa was the one quarter of the globe in which vast unexplored territories were occupied entirely by uncivilised tribes. Europe recognises that a civilised state has property in the territory it occupies; and that one civilised state offends against public law if it deliberately seeks to deprive another of territory lawfully held. But Europe claims with good reason that civilised powers may impose their own control over uncivilised peoples—on which principle all the world, except Africa, had been divided before 1880. The partition of Africa practically meant that within the area allotted to each power as its sphere of influence, no other power would interfere with its proceedings except for such reasons as commanded the general assent of Europe. South of the equator, Germany and Portugal each had two regions, one on the east, and the other on the west, the British sphere extending northward from Cape Colony between them as far as the great lakes. Here German East Africa meets the Congo Free State, allotted to the King of the Belgians, which extends to the west coast. Thus a broad belt of territory, partly German and partly Belgian, stretches across the continent from sea to sea, parting British South Africa from the British sphere of influence in the north

3. Africa.

The Partition.

which lies between Egypt and the equator. The eastern 'horn' of Africa was allotted to Italy. The states along the Mediterranean are parted from tropical Africa by great deserts. These comprise the independent Morocco on the west; Algeria, for long past under French dominion; independent Tunis; and Tripoli, which is attached to the Turkish Empire. The remainder of Africa north of the equator is divided among several powers, France and Britain having the greater shares. The island of Madagascar was acquired by France.

In South Africa, within the area of the British sovereignty before the European scramble for African territory began, lay the two 'Boer' republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the establishment of which had South Africa. been sanctioned in the fifties. Under the impression that the Transvaal could not defend itself against the aggressive military tribes of the Zulus, the British government annexed it in 1877. The Boers protested, and in 1880 took up arms to recover their independence. A disaster to British troops at Majuba Hill did not prevent the British government from conceding the demands of the Boers with some reservations, and the Transvaal Republic was reinstated. Not long afterwards the discovery of gold-mines in the Transvaal had the usual effect of causing a great influx of would-be settlers, who soon raised loud complaints against the treatment to which they were subjected by the Transvaal government. At the same time a strong The Boer War. conviction gained ground among the British population of South Africa that the Dutch population was making the substitution of Dutch for British supremacy its deliberate aim. Hence in the autumn of 1899 arose the Boer war, in which the two republics made common cause. The British, who had greatly underrated the strength and determination of their opponents, met with a series of grave reverses during the winter; but the arrival of large reinforcements soon made it impossible for the Boers to meet them in pitched battles. The capitals of the republics were occupied, and their annexation was announced; but an obstinate guerilla warfare was maintained till the summer of 1902, when the Boers recognised that the struggle was hopeless. The republics were absorbed into the British Empire,

at first as Crown colonies—that is, with an administration controlled by the Crown. But after a short interval they were given ‘responsible’ government, that is, an administration under their own control; and subsequently the whole group of South African colonies were formed in 1909 into the federal Union of South Africa. This was the last completed stage of that federation in groups of portions of the British empire which seems to offer the modern solution of the problem of retaining Imperial unity without choking local liberty. The Canadian dominion had provided the first example, and the Australian Federation a second in 1900.

Meanwhile a new power had entered the colonial competition, and been brought into more complicated relations with Europe.

4. The United States. The United States had not concerned themselves with the doings or the rivalries of other nations except where American territory was concerned. They had had boundary and fishery disputes with Canada and therefore with the central authority of the British Empire; they had asserted the ‘Monroe doctrine’ formulated by one of the earlier presidents, under which they claimed to intervene if European powers sought to act against other American states. But now they were to be brought into more direct contact with the governments of the Old World.

This was the immediate result of a war with Spain in which they became involved in 1898. The Spanish colonial dominion had for long been reduced to Cuba and other West Indian islands, and the Philippine group in the Pacific Ocean. We have seen how powerless the Spanish government itself had become, before 1870. After a brief era of republicanism, Spain had settled the succession problem by recalling to the throne Alfonso, the son of the exiled Isabella; but she had not learnt to discipline herself to steady obedience to a stable rule, and the government of her colonies was arbitrary and uncontrolled. The misgovernment of Cuba led to insurrections, the insurrections led to intervention by the United States, and the intervention to war. Neither the fleets nor the armies of Spain were in the least capable of coping with those of the United States, and when the war was ended she had to

cede the Philippines to the western republic. The Filipinos craved for independence, and a long and wearing guerilla warfare ensued before they submitted to the American supremacy. The war, however, definitely put an end to the theory of a permanent dividing line between the powers of the Old and New Worlds.

It was not only the acquisition of the Philippines which gave the United States an interest in the Pacific Ocean. They, as well as the European nations, were intimately concerned with the opening up of the two previously isolated eastern nations Japan and China. Steadily, systematically, and scientifically, Japan set herself to learn everything that Europe could teach. Under the guidance of British naval officers, she created a navy; her army was educated by the Germans who had just displayed the extraordinary efficiency of their military methods in the Franco-Prussian war. China, on the other hand, continued to be deaf and blind, to reject, while pretending to adopt, all that the western barbarians had to offer; and it was with this great inert mass that Japan first came in conflict. The quarrel arose over Korea, a country which neither China nor Japan could afford to leave under control of the other

The war broke out in 1894. The world was inclined to believe that China must inevitably overwhelm Japan; the Japanese in fact had matters all their own way, both by land and sea. They had never feared China; what they did fear was that Russia would dominate China, and that when that happened Japan would be in danger. Their object was to dominate China themselves. But the treaty of Shimonoseki, which concluded the war, was not at all satisfactory to Russia—at that time on warm terms with France. Germany joined them in prohibiting Japan from appropriating the fruits of the contest. The practical outcome was that Russia herself got what the treaty had given to Japan.

China had fallen into the clutches of the western powers, which were not satisfied with the recent partition of Africa. The murder of two German missionaries gave Germany excuse for demanding and obtaining the 'lease' of a considerable territory. Russia followed suit by procuring Port

**The
Philippines.**

**5. Japan
and China.**

**Chino-
Japanese
War.**

**The Boxer
Rebellion.**

Arthur. Irritation against the foreigners and some of the Chinese officials who favoured foreign ideas was largely responsible for the 'Boxer' rebellion which broke out in 1900; for two months the legations of the European powers were besieged. Order was not restored till the combined forces of six powers, including Japan, appeared at Peking.

Japan still had before her a task of immense gravity. Russia's advance in Central Asia had been a constant source of alarm and perturbation to Great Britain; it had been the cause of war between that power and Afghanistan in 1879; in 1885 it very nearly produced war between Great Britain and Russia herself. Russia was credited with the possession of immense military resources and an effective military organisation, and the alarm she succeeded in inspiring on all sides made her diplomacy peculiarly successful. But progress in the direction of India was checked, and her attention was now turned to China and Korea. Japan, however, had not forgiven the part she played after the treaty of Shimonoseki, and was preparing to challenge the Colossus which overawed the west. At that time she had yielded when Russia had the support of Germany and France; but now an agreement with Great Britain ensured her British support if Russia were not left to fight her duel alone. Russia was urged on by a war-party in high places; Japan's attempted negotiations on the subject of Manchuria and Korea were treated with contempt.

At last, suddenly and unexpectedly, Japan struck. Her fleets began by attacking and almost disabling the Russian squadrons (February, 1904), and landing her own first army in Korea. By land and sea, from the moment the war began, the consummate efficiency of her organisation and the utter inefficiency of Russia's were made manifest. The slaughters in the great battles of the Franco-Prussian war fade into insignificance in comparison with those in the terrific engagements by which this war was characterised; the whole number killed in action in the entire course of the Boer war were less than the Russian losses in many single actions. The victory of Japan was decisive and complete; Korea passed under Japanese control, and Russia

**Russo-
Japanese
War.**

withdrew all claims in Manchuria. Japan's material gains were disproportionately small, but she had won for herself a sudden and tremendous reputation, and for the time at least had shattered Russia's reputation irretrievably. The rise of Japan to the position of a first-class power, and the collapse of Russian prestige, are perhaps the most notable products of the first decade of the present century.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK IX., THE MODERN NATIONS

GUIDING DATES

Revolts in Spain, Naples, Sicily, and Portugal	1820	Italy becomes one kingdom } 1861
Greece revolts	1821	American Civil War begins } 1863
Accession of Charles X. in France	1824	Schleswig-Holstein war
Battle of Navarino	1827	End of American Civil War
Greek Independence	1829	Seven Weeks' War
French 'July' Revolution	1830	Restoration of the Mikado
Risings in Belgium and Poland		Franco-Prussian War ; establishment of French Republic
Belgian Independence	1831	New German Empire pro- claimed
Rising in Italy		Russo-Turkish War
British Reform Act	1832	Berlin Treaty
Accession of Isabella in Spain, and expulsion of Dom Miguel from Portugal	1833	Afghan War
Separation of England and Hanover	1837	Retrocession of Transvaal
First Anglo-Chinese war	1840	British occupation of Egypt
United States war with Mexico	1847	Partition of Africa completed
The Year of Revolutions	1848	War of China and Japan
Annexation of Punjab	1849	War of United States and Spain
<i>Coup d'état</i> in France	1851	Boer War breaks out
Napoleon III., emperor	1852	Australian Federation
Crimean War	1854	Boxer Rebellion
Japanese Treaty with United States	1854	End of Boer War
Indian Mutiny	1857	War of Russia and Japan
Liberation of North Italy	1859	Annexation of Bosnia by Austria
		South African Federation

LEADING NAMES

Alexander I. — Nicholas I. — Ferdinand VII. — Louis XVIII. — Charles X. — Louis Philippe — Pius IX. — Garibaldi — Cavour — Victor Emmanuel — Dom Miguel — Don Carlos — Queen Isabella — Napoleon III. — Bismarck — William I. — Moltke — Abraham Lincoln.

NOTES

Material Progress. The nineteenth century was the age of the most rapid material progress that the world has known. Scientific discoveries had initiated the era of steam before it began. Very rapidly steam-power became the great instrument of manufactures of all kinds. What took place in England was typical of what began to take place all over Europe, and in America. A hundred years ago men travelled on foot, or on horseback, or by coach: fifty years later every country had become a network of railroads. Steamships were displacing sailing vessels, and iron-clad warships were just about to displace the old 'wooden walls' of England. Warfare was being changed by the enormously increased speed at which troops could be moved and supplies sent to the front. Huge towns were developing: the population of London to-day is one-third of the entire population of the British Isles at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Slavery and Serfdom. In Europe slavery gave place to serfdom when the old Roman system fell to pieces. It continued among the oriental peoples, and reappeared in the New World with the conquest of the native races by the Spaniards. At the same time the practice arose of carrying off African negroes to serve as slaves in the New World, because they were better labourers than the natives of America. The theory was that the slaves lost their freedom but gained salvation by becoming Christians. Also it was held that they were the children of Ham predestined to serve the children of Japhet. It was only towards the end of the eighteenth century that the horrors of the slave-trade began to impress the imagination of Europeans, and England had the credit of making the suppression of the trade—that is, the kidnapping and transportation of African natives—a primary demand at the Congress of Vienna. A few years later she led the way in abolishing slavery entirely on British soil in all parts of the world. Negro slavery however remained in full force in the southern states of the American Union, alone among civilised nations, till its abolition at the close of the great Civil War. Serfdom in Europe was ended by the French Revolution, except for its survival in Russia, where emancipation was granted by Tsar Alexander II. in 1861.

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